



**COMEDY
GETS REALLY,
REALLY
SMART P.62**

**AFTER
DION:
What's
left of the
Grits P.22**



IRAQ IS ABOUT TO BLOW P.28

**NARCISSISTIC
MOMS
P.68**

MACLEAN'S

www.macleans.ca

NOV.
3rd
2008

THE JOY OF FRUGALITY

**Want to flourish
in tough times?
The case for the
simple life. P.42**



\$5.95 PM 40070230 R 08973



Coffee Lover?

Why Not Try Something New?

Introducing



Also available in
Mint Chocolate & Caramel.

New Baileys® with
a hint of Coffee.

The best part of having experience is sharing it.



At TD Waterhouse, our goal is to work with you to meet your specific financial goals.

At TD Waterhouse Private Investment Advisor, our Investment Advisors work one-on-one with you to develop a comprehensive investment plan – one that's right for you and your family's unique needs and goals. Backed by a team of experts, they offer you fully informed and customized wealth management solutions that fit your desire to be involved in investment decision making. And, they will maintain ongoing contact to ensure your plan remains flexible enough to meet with you through each stage of your life. You can be confident we share your goal of enhancing your financial success over the long term. Professional and personalized, the service at Private Investment Advisor is just one of the wide range of services TD Waterhouse offers to help you achieve your financial goals. Get comprehensive and personalized investment advice. Speak to your TD Waterhouse Investment Advisor, call 1-888-228-2148, or visit your local TD Waterhouse branch today.

- One-on-one relationship with a dedicated Investment Advisor
- Comprehensive and personalized investment advice



Waterhouse

Width of Experience

DISCOUNT BROKERAGE | FINANCIAL PLANNING | PRIVATE CLIENT SERVICES

1-888-228-2148 | www.tdwaterhouse.ca

TD Waterhouse represents the products and services offered by TD Waterhouse Securities Inc. (TD Waterhouse Securities), TD Waterhouse Financial Planning, and TD Waterhouse Private Investment Advisor, which are divisions of TD Waterhouse Canada Inc. (Waterhouse CIP). TD Waterhouse Securities Inc. is a member of the Investment Industry Regulatory Organization of Canada (IIROC). TD Waterhouse Financial Planning is a member of the Financial Planning Institute of Canada (FPI). TD Waterhouse Private Investment Advisor is a member of the Investment Industry Regulatory Organization of Canada (IIROC). TD Waterhouse is a trademark of The Toronto-Dominion Bank. Trade and service marks.

THIS WEEK

Interview

10 | A MOTHER MOVES ON
Marissa Leanne tells us Kate Winslet about liberty, guilt, and living with the fact that her son killed 94 women

Columns

12 | CAPITAL SHIRT
Mitchell Raphael on the book that both Justin Trudeau and George W. Bush like to read, and Rahm Jeffery's pin

14 | ANDREW COYNE
A free-trade deal between Canada and the EU could be a great opportunity.

16 | PAUL WELLS
Strabane Dan showed no courage when he admitted the failure but then immediately blamed his adversaries.

17 | ANDREW POTTER
British artist Damien Hirst's critics say his only skill is hoodwinking the rich and the tasteless.

National

22 | WHEN IT'S OVER
The Liberals are taking a look at what really went wrong in this fall's campaign. First on the agenda is how to catch up with Tory fundraising.

24 | B.C.'S MAD BOSS
Not everyone in Monterey Bay is happy with the recent expansion of grey wolf in the area and there's been bombings to prove it.

26 | COST OF LIVING WAGES
Some Canadian cities are considering a "living wage" policy to lift full-time workers out of poverty—will it work?

28 | DREYFUS NAE POACHERS
Golf prizes in Canada aren't as low as we think are (see decays in Owen Sound, Ont., an "abuse of power").

World

30 | IRAN BET TO BLOW?
A foreign policy expert says that the Baghdad government's failure to deliver on its promises could blow it all.

MACLEAN'S
VOLUME 121 NUMBER 42, NOVEMBER 3, 2008 • SINCE 1905

4 From the Editors 8 Mail Bag
10 Seven Days

NOVEMBER 3-10, 2008



P.58

Compton's twins Telina (left) and Krista (right)

THE BACK PAGE

68 | TV

TV shows like *SVU* can help YouTube for survivor audiences

69 | Film

Chomping further grows well life is stranger than fiction

87 | Stage

Nearly forgotten acts come back to life at Pop Montreal

88 | Help

How to let go of your dreams of having the perfect room

89 | Business

The latest thing in retail gets

70 | Taste

Wildcatters: the cornucopia under our feet

71 | Feedback

Getting yourself immortalized in space

72 | The End

Ladies Wilfred Decker 1934-2008

ON THE COVER: Can you live on less?

**SUBSCRIBE TO MACLEAN'S AT
WWW.MACLEANS.CA**

34 | U.S. ELECTION CHAOS
Technical glitches—and the fact that more people are looking for problems—could mess with election results

36 | LOST AND FOUND
An entire beach in Jamaica has disappeared. Climate has obliterated generations. Spains "lost of silence" is crumbling

Business

42 | COVER STORY ON THE CHEAP

We may not like it, but the new frugal lifestyle forced upon us by the shrinking economy might just make us happier and healthier.

46 | STEVE NAIKH
There's a lot we can learn from Japan, where housing and stock market bubbles burst nearly 30 years ago

51 | A BURNER FOR HIPPIES
Your salary could be next to take a hit. Our own suburban mortgage mess, VW's new van sends mixed messages

Technology

53 | A NEW UNDERSTANDING
The second in a three-part series of visionary advances since the dawn of sci-fi tales, universal translation devices are now being tested in Hong Kong

History

56 | UNLIKELY SOLDIERS
The remarkable and tragic tale of two Canadian soldiers who parachuted into France together in June 1943.

Society

57 | OFFICE POTTY
Advice for all you cross-dressers and urinal crowders: don't throw it away—keep it in your office toolbox

58 | TWICE THE COURAGE
Comedian twins Telina and Krista are turning 20 and have become an everyday part of life in their hometown

Newsweek

59 | KNEW-HILL MARYLENE
The world's highest paid diva, the now-milk activist fight back; Princess Leia's got more problems—again

COVER: GUY AROCA; LEFT: RIGHT: PHOTO: GUY AROCA; RIGHT: PHOTO: GUY AROCA; RIGHT: PHOTO: GUY AROCA

'You take pleasure in throwing darts at Gehry, a designer still at the top of his game'

RETIREMENT AGE

SO MUCH FOR MY FUTURE. I just read the article by Duncan Head and Jason Kirby about the state of the economy and what it means to me ("Freedom 95?" *Business*, Oct. 26). Day 71 and I count the years I can survive on my only financial resource, my RRSP. In the past month or so I have learned that I have to die one year earlier, say my RRSP lasts 31,000 months to the end of the world, the banks and credit-aided speculators I don't care if these silly people want to play around with their finances, but why should I be dragged down with them?

Camden V. Forbes, Burlington, Ont.

AFTER READING this article, anyone who is preparing to retire within the next five years is now panicked and confused. The word economy is unfortunately repeating the message that every western bank would fulfill their retirement dream. But don't be lulled. What your writers did not mention is that many employees were misemployed beyond the age of 65, not for financial reasons, but because they are not ready to retire. Many progressive companies have introduced early retirement packages to retain their mature workforce because they need their experience—especially in a downturn market. Michael Harvey, Director, New Business Development, Prince 50, Toronto

BAILING AND BAILING

RECENTLY I SAW Mac's article on the Wall Street bailout. ("It's going to get worse," *Business*, Oct. 15). I've gone from concerned to scared half to death. Thanks to Los Prater Patrick Kingston, Ont.

THE CONSTANT BARBAGE of fear-mongering in the media is not only misleading the public, but driving down Canadian markets. Recently we learned that Canadian banking system has been growing steadily by the World Economic Forum. France and the U.S. are below 40th place, yet Canada proudly sits at level of the clinic. It is time to face the fact that, in spite of discreditable statistics, Canada might exit this period with only a few scars. Chris Cook, Montreal

IN YOUR STORY on the bailout, you tell us a retirement is on my way to Canada, yet in your ad next, you tell us to vote for a Tory candidate

and for the very leader who has denied that Canada is heading into a recession. How is that not right?

Serge St. Martin, Mont-Saint-Mary, Que.

MAJORITY RULES

WHEN I RECENTLY saw Maclean's, the first thing I do is read the editorial. I always find it very enjoyable because you tell it like it is. I can't describe my disappointment when I read your piece about the Harper Times ("These times call for a majority government," *Times* editorial, Oct. 13). Your reporting is generally balanced, that is why I've subscribed for

60 years and in 100 per cent remains free. The Big Times are playing catch-up and are only recovered by doling out sales due to rising gas prices. Supply and demand goes a long way and that is why supporting a Canadian company like ZENN is important.

Donna Gray, Cambridge, Ont.

ALL BRAIN, NO SENSE

FOR SOME REASON, lots of people think it is acceptable to take performance enhancement drugs to run a little faster or to jump a little higher. Now we find out in your article ("Going to work on smart drugs," *Health*, Oct. 11) that some people think that it's okay to take drugs to improve their brain capacity, despite having very little objective evidence to support claims to that effect. There's an interesting loop of faith, nonsense here, led to us before we're even shocked, after all. What makes me is that people are not trying to improve their brain functions so that they can understand the origins of the concrete, or cure cancer, or relieve widespread poverty or poverty. No, they want to increase their brain capacity so they can stay on top of work longer to help increase the bonuses that will be paid out to their CEOs. How stupid can we be!

Robert Rauda, Ottawa

GEHRY'S VISION

YOUR ATTACK on architect Frank Gehry ("Frank Gehry's healthy old man," *Design*, Sept. 26) takes pleasure in throwing down as an artist and designer who has a long string of supposedly satisfied clients and a staff at the top of his game. As the client and operator of the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles, I can speak as a member of the Master Center and the L.A. Philharmonic in saying the hall was thoughtfully and wonderfully designed, is an unrivalling masterpiece of architecture and is musically and operationally as close to perfection as any concert hall ever built. Your belabouring of the story about the alleged mental state of the architect is creating an undesirable glare for musicians and sponsors for performances to actually arrive at Gehry. He designed one city centre in the year of the economic concert hall with published plans to create a space of innovation and excitement at a corner facing a courtyard. We all loved that, it was absolutely the right artistic choice. After the building opened we realized that as conservatories of the year, the published

plans reflected the vastness of the street in current period ways. Gehry immediately addressed the problem.

Frank Gehry continues to be involved in the current state of the Walt Disney Concert Hall. We respect his work and his obvious love of art and music. Toronto should be thrilled to have had the benefit of his vision for the AGO.

Stephen D. Rosentre, President and CEO, Maclean's, Los Angeles

A COLD CRAFTY ONE

ONCE UPON A TIME, Duhon McGuinness had got it wrong yet again with his 30-million beer subsidy program for small brewers in Ontario ("Hard time? We need a beer subsidy," *Montreal*, Oct. 26). Rather than giving out more tax dollars as a financial prop for

the craft-beer culture, Queen's Park should totally overhaul and reform the LCBO so that 30 domestic beer producers have the same price controls, irrespective of whether they are the very large brewers like Labatt or the small, or the local craft brewers. A case of Labatt's should not be priced lower

about what we can't see?" *Times*, Oct. 11). Chief Mark Tien is annoyed by Canadian regulations regarding wild game, and to be able to buy exotic wild game, citizens serving, among other things, should be able to buy that in an outdoor setting. Shark population has decreased by 90 per cent over the past 20



QUEEN'S PARK should overhaul the LCBO, not give \$4 million in tax dollars to craft brewers'.

than a similar case of a local microbrew. Unfortunately they often are, so the lower we forced to pay more for quality microbrew rather than the fermented garbage put out by the larger brewers.

Bob Tappin, West Vancouver

PETER SHOWN TAPLIN's article on Ontario craft brewing suggests that job numbers in this industry are declining. In fact, our jobs have been increasing at about 10 per cent a year since the start. The article included an estimate of 600 jobs in 2005. This number would have included jobs at Lakeside Brewing, which was sold to Labatt in 2007. With our Lakeside, we currently estimate the industry's job numbers to be between 450 and 500. If a brewery is purchased by international concerns, it is no longer considered a small brewery. That does not change the fact that the remaining brewers are growing, in fact, it is a testament to the success of the program when a local start-up grows so fast that it gets the attention of international brewers. It is one local success. The other, of course, is the growth of all of the 30-plus craft brewers in Ontario and the increasing consumer interest in our brands.

John Jay, President, Ontario Craft Brewers, Toronto, Ontario
Gary McMillan, President, Lakeside of Malheur Cottage Brewery, Vancouver, Ont.

SHARK FIN Soup

I WAS HORRIFIED to read the article regarding restaurants on the game sharks that chefs can serve in restaurants ("Grossing

years. No one knows what effect this wholesale destruction will have on these ecosystems. The dangerous, unethical and inhumane practice of shark finning is banned by at least 12 countries, including the U.S.

Carly Owen, Windsor, Ont.

THIS IS THE END

OH! Thank you much! I'm disappointed! In the past two months, two women and a she will take us into your back-page obituary. The End. Seriously, it's going to be a woman's world there—well, it's not great that they're dead, but you know what I mean?

Wendy Harris, Montreal

IN PASSING

FRANK WOODER, 81, musician. Along with high school friends in Hamilton he founded the punk band Tanya Head, in 1975. The progressive spirit was that when they played a Toronto date in 1980 thousands of fans attended. Image Head was released to play at the year's CityPop game. Wooder, who was once named Frank Berry, died of throat cancer.

Ben Winder, 81, scholar, pianist. The father of the modern fitness industry, the Montreal-born Winder and his brother, Joe, started with publishing *How to Physique* magazine, changing weight training from exercise to a means to an end. They built a multi-million dollar business that included supplements and equipment.

MACLEAN'S BESTSELLERS	
CURATED BY DEAN RETHMAN	
Fiction	
1. A HOT WANTED MAN By Jeffery Deaver	100
2. THE INFATIGABLE PATIENT By P.D. James	90
3. THROUGH BLACK SPRING By Joseph Boyden	40
4. THE STORY OF EDGAR SNOW By David Woodhead	30
5. SHRELLY TROUBLES By Michael Ondaatje	20
6. CONVICT By Helen Humphreys	10
7. THE SILENT KARGO By Fred Stenson	10
8. ALL THE COLOURS OF DARKNESS By Michael Ondaatje	10
9. RED DOG, RED DOG By Michael Ondaatje	10
10. THE QUEL WITH THE DRAGON TATTOO By Stieg Larsson	10
Non-fiction	
1. A BLUE COUNTRY By John Sutherland	100
2. THE GIFT OF THANKS By Margaret Visser	100
3. THE SNOWBALL By Alice Hoffman	100
4. GODS TALK TO THE EASTERN STAR By David Woodhead	100
5. THE LAST LECTURE By David Woodhead	100
6. IN SPIRIT OF MYSELF By Christopher Plummer	100
7. HOT, PLAIN AND CROWD By Thomas Mann	100
8. SHOCK THROUS By Tim Cook	100
9. THE WAY WITHIN By David Woodhead	100
10. THE PERPETUAL CANADAINS By David Woodhead	100
LAST WEEK TRENDS ON LIST	



A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF COLIN POWELL

On Sunday, George W. Bush's former secretary of state broke ranks with fellow Republicans—not to mention his close friend, John McCain—and endorsed Barack Obama for president. The retired general said NBC's *Meet The Press* that the Democratic candidate is the type of "transformational figure" America needs to bolster the economy and improve its tarnished image abroad. Obama responded to Powell's praise with a job offer. "He will have a role as one of my advisers," he said.

Good news

Peace hope?

A long-dormant Saudi proposal that would see Israel cede control of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights in exchange for peace and the safe Arab world appears to be back on the table. Talks with the Syrian regime. And the Israeli army is also reportedly mulling over a new aggression pact with Lebanon, and will meet with Egyptian ministers in an effort to control the Gaza strip. It's hard to call it optimism, but all this chatter is at least a beginning.

Leading by example

Barack Obama's former president, Robert Mugabe, has been awarded the Ibrahim Prize for Achievement in African Leadership, a \$15 million world fund that encourages good governance on the world's most troubled continents. The judge praised Mugabe, who stepped down voluntarily in April after two terms, for his efforts to fight HIV/AIDS, diversify his country's economy and promote sustainable development. Contrast that with the chaos in Zimbabwe, where Robert Mugabe continues to desperately cling to power. This week, the foreign chief refused to issue passport to opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai, denouncing a man who he said had been in power for 37 years. He also refused to endorse a power-sharing agreement. The bid Mugabe doesn't need the cash.

Simple respect

Sirley Margaret is one of a global population of 10 million who are blind. This week, she was named the 2008 World Vision's "Woman of the Year" award. She is a woman who has overcome the odds to become a successful businesswoman. She is a woman who has overcome the odds to become a successful businesswoman. She is a woman who has overcome the odds to become a successful businesswoman.

Bad news

Woe Denny Boy

Denny Williams should receive the old saying about the word. After his bitter "ABC" ("Anything But Conservative") campaign waged during the federal election, several MPs from the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party in the opposition benches, he's trying to make amends with Obama. Apparently, he's moved on to a new strategy: the president's name. A new government campaign points the provincial election as a good

sign, imported Chinese candies from the shelves over similar concerns. Japanese media then found the chemical in dough made with Chinese milk products, and see shops in the U.K. pulled Chinese-made, chocolate flavored "adult body spread" after finding they contain 30 times the safe level of melamine. Baby formula and adult body spread? Is nothing sacred?

Not dead...resting

Poor Stephen Dion. After five grueling weeks on the campaign trail, capped off by a crushing defeat at the polls, the lame-duck Liberal leader headed home for a few days of rest and relaxation. Seems reasonable, right? Not to the Parliament Hill press corps. They told us, over and over, that Dion was "incapacitated," as if he were lying in the hospital and refusing to come again for dinner. But don't worry, Stephen. There's one major media outlet that doesn't care what you, or the Prime Minister, are doing. *New Canada*—the often-called national magazine—dedicated just one paragraph to the federal election results.

Be of good cheer

A 35-year-old Wisconsin woman from a family that cherishes for studying her 15-year-old daughter's history to enter high school and join the cheerleading squad. Wendy Trivette's daughter, Kelly, was born with a rare condition called Down syndrome. Wendy's daughter, Kelly, was born with a rare condition called Down syndrome. Wendy's daughter, Kelly, was born with a rare condition called Down syndrome.

Feeling uneasy

Just when you thought China's natural food supply was over, the earthquake scene continues to spread. Aside from the 53,000 Chinese babies infected by baby formula tainted with the toxic industrial chemical, now stores in the Sichuan Islands are pulling

FACE OF THE WEEK



BUSTY, a cat from Peru, took part in the Lama Cat Championship in New York this week, but top prize went to Bumble, a Russian Blue.

Bush has emerged as a unifying figure: the one thing that most Americans seem to agree on is that he's the lowest at his job. On Sunday, Republican candidate John McCain faced congressional crowd in Georgia, N.C., and president. "I'm not George W. Bush." The crowd erupted in applause. The crowd erupted in applause. The crowd erupted in applause.



Specialized financial advice can help you grow your business.

When growing your business, the most careful financial advice is specialized financial advice. To help take your business to the next level, RBC has dedicated teams of industry-specialized account managers who have a deep understanding of what drives your market and business model. As an active member of your industry, your advisor will support you in realizing your vision. So whatever business you're in, there's an RBC account manager ready to help you grow. To start a conversation today, visit rbcroyalbank.com/commercial.

CREATE A BETTER FUTURE FOR YOUR BUSINESS.

RBC Royal Bank

© 2008 Royal Bank of Canada. RBC Royal Bank is a registered trademark of Royal Bank of Canada.

MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON WHAT BOOK JUSTIN AND GEORGE W. LIKE TO READ AND RAHIM'S PIN

HALLOWEEN CANDY AT JUSTIN'S HOUSE

For Halloween, trick-or-treaters can expect to find a classic candy at the house of Justin Trudeau. "I have a huge bag for—as my brother used to call them—chemical candies," says the Montrealer. "I love Backus! Tip: only for Halloween we end up buying all sorts of candy and then giving out small amounts of it and making sure we have candy for the rest of the week."

Trudeau was the Montrealer riding of the House in the recent election. At his campaign office his money book, he was joined by his brother Alexandre Trudeau, who had one hand in his legs due to a bad burn, and his pregnant wife, Sophie Grégoire. He also has a first child, Xavier, 10 months old, and a second child, Justine, 10 months old. "He loves to read. I see how excited he is when you read him one of his storybooks." Those books include Eric Carle's *The Very Hungry Caterpillar*, a favorite of President George W. Bush. Add Trudeau, "We live and speak in French around Xavier, but I read to him in both French and English. Sophie and I live in French. He gets English from grandma Margaret."



MAY SAVES OBIEN?

Green party leader Elizabeth May says she plans to visit his home in Ottawa in the next 10 months. She bought a place in New Glasgow, N.S., where she ran in the recent election, and plans to keep that as her only home. May made it into the leaders' debates, she has been asked to speak at the annual press gallery dinner scheduled for Nov. 29. She has agreed and may be the only one on the stage maintaining the tradition of party leaders delivering annual

speeches. The Liberal leadership is a bit messy right now. Bloc Leader Gilles Duceppe has not attended since he was paired with Jean Charest for a lame speech. Governor General Michaëlle Jean refused to come last year after she was attacked in the French press for her criticism of the year before. Last year, Stéphane Dion was the only leader to make a speech—a great one at that. That night

MP Lester Mackenzie offered himself as a dinner date at his impromptu nation fundraiser. May was the one who said she could finally talk to Layton face-to-face. Stephen Harper has not attended since he became PM. His people and it wasn't dignified for the PM to make the kind of speech and besides, they asked, what other Western world leader did such a thing? The press gallery members pointed out that

George W. Bush appears at the equivalent American dinner.

SEPARATIST TO TAKE SPEAKER'S CHAIR

When Parliament resumes, the first order of business will be picking a speaker. Peter Milliken, a Liberal, has been in that role since 2004. He told Capital Diary he'll seek the position again. When asked before the election who would have made a good speaker to the lobby side of the House, Milliken suggested the very notable Rahim Jaffer, who lost his nomination race to the NDP's Linda Dawson. But before a new speaker is chosen, the dean of the House sits on the speaker's chair and presides. In the last session that was NDP MP Ed Broadbent, who's retired. This time the longest-serving MP is a seppie: Bloc MP Louis Plamondon, who was first elected to the House in 2004 as a Progressive Conservative.

TORY WEDDING

Candidate Terry MP Helena Guergas did not want to wait any longer to marry fellow Conservative Rahim Jaffer. She didn't even want to wait until Election Canada declared the results of Jaffer's tight race, which he ultimately lost. She flew to Edmonton after the vote and they had a civil ceremony. A party was planned for December in Ottawa. Jaffer has a lot of packing to do before then. In July he said the house he bought in Ottawa when he first became an MP in 1997 at age 25. He also has to clean out his MP office in his riding and in Ottawa. Jaffer will now get an MP spouse pin. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa updates or to contact Mitchell Raphael, visit mitchell.ca/ or radio4390.com



ON DISSEMINATING TASTE

LATE NIGHT DINING

THERE'S SOMETHING WONDERFUL about a late night drink when no one values are needed. The intimacy. The company of friends. The spontaneous swapping of stories and secrets at the table. The romantic pleasure of lingering over a meal long after the day's events have come to bed.

Enjoy Responsibly. 100% Grain Neutral Spirits. 40% Alc/Vol (80 Proof).

GREY GOOSE
World's Best Tasting Vodka

The bold economic move you haven't heard of



ANDREW COYNE

On June 12, 1999, the United States Congress passed into law the Senate Ratification Act. The act imposed huge increases in tariffs on thousands of imported goods, leading to a catastrophic decline in trade—not only in the United States but, as other countries responded in kind, worldwide. What began as a risky economic experiment ended in the Great Depression.

That much is well known. Not so well known is that Canada beat the odds. In May of that year, with an election looming, the government of Jean Chrétien jacked up tariff duties on goods representing almost one-third of American exports to Canada. That was just the start. That summer the Conservatives under R.J. Bennett were elected on a promise to deploy high tariffs as a kind of economic dynamite, the better to “blast” our way into foreign markets—our own. Since Hawkey, and just about as helpful.

It is a relief, then, to see that history is not about to repeat itself. To the contrary, in the shadow of the credit crisis, the government of Canada has just announced the boldest economic stroke in its history, one that, if it succeeds, will be a giant rebuke to any claim to revive the world economy than any single measure you could name.

Too would think, then, that you might have heard something by now about this ambitious plan—perhaps, say, in the recent election. Yet chances are this is the first you will have read about the coming launch of talks on a Canada-Europe free trade agreement. That's a statement about how silent even our political classes have become, amongst Conservatives in particular, even as they were taking little time to manage in-campaign policy free campaigns, they were sitting at the biggest idea of them all: a sweeping proposal for “deep economic integration” with the world's largest and richest market, embracing not

only the free movement of goods and services, but also capital and maybe even labour. That the opposition likewise declined to make it an issue, however, may also be a statement about how uncompetitive free trade has become in Canada. How uncompetitive is that? The *Vancouver Star* is in favour. Twenty years ago, this country nearly had a nervous breakdown over whether to engage in a free trade agreement with the United States, with the Star leading the opposition. And today? It's “an idea whose time may have finally come,” the paper yawns.

Such is the consensus in its favour, it probably needs to rehearse the basic case for free trade: the lower prices and broader selection it affords consumers, the greater efficiency

in our trade relationships. There it, it will goad us, not trade creation, but trade diversion. In practice, these fears have proved overblown. The Canada-U.S. deal did not divert much trade from other countries, for the same reason that a Canada-EU deal will not divert much trade from the U.S.: geography. And so far as either is the case, they cancel each other out. So nonsensical was an in this reversal of “business as usual” of a “Divert Option” can forget about it. It's not going to happen.

What's more likely, and what the skeptics overlook, is the competitive dynamic that bilateral deals typically unleash—one free-trade deal leading to another, and another, instead of free-trade domino effect. That's what happened with the Canada-U.S. agreement. Almost immediately Mexico applied to join, forcing that otherwise Canadian and U.S. exposure would gain a competitive edge over their Mexican rivals in each other's markets. So everything multiplies, one suspects, is behind the “Europeans” have forwarded preliminary for a deal with Canada, after years of rebuffing our advances to admit to look the Americans. After all, should Canada and the EU enter a deal on their



Canada could claim to be the catalyst for the next great wave of world trade liberalization

in forces upon producers; the economies of scale it makes possible, along with the opportunities for more efficient allocation of capital and labour across national borders. Federal governments studies project Canada-EU trade would expand output such as manufacturing by as much as a third, raising output by a larger part of GDP within five years. That may not sound like much, until you realize that government, not a one-time gain, but a permanent, compounding increase in national income, year after year after year. (Why, it's such good idea we might even try it between the provinces.)

Oddly, the biggest sceptics about these sorts of bilateral agreements trade liberalization among economists. The case for free trade, they point out, is based on the increase in trade it produces as trade creation. But if a country lowers its trade barriers selectively, to one country or group of countries but not to others, the danger is that some or all of the trade that results will simply displace pro-

cess, Canada would trail a march on the United States and place to meet. By locating in Canada, a firm could export tariff-free to both the U.S. and Europe, free of all of the richest countries on Earth.

A Canada-EU deal, then, could be the spark to a larger transatlantic deal, combining NAFTA and the EU in a single massive trade bloc. And then? Should not China and India then have to come to the table as equals? Canada could claim with some justice to have been the catalyst for the next great wave of world trade liberalization, a steady antidote to the forces of economic contraction.

And if the doubters don't budge? Then we would merely have postponed ourselves in the transatlantic market trade, the newly developed country with guaranteed access to the world's two richest markets. I tell you this is big, big, big. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Coyne, visit his blog at www.macleans.ca/andrewcoyne

Do you watch what you say to your insurer?

- ☐ ...um
- ☐ ...uh
- ☐ ...hmm

Let's face it, no one feels comfortable asking their insurance company questions. It always seems that no matter how carefully you phrase them, there's a chance they'll somehow cause your premiums to go up. Well, we don't think that's right—they're just questions after all. We want you to feel free to ask us your questions about home, auto and business insurance. That's why Aviva is giving you a way to get simple, straightforward answers. Just go online to changeinsurance.ca and ask us any insurance question you want. Or simply contact an Aviva broker. **Let's Change Insurance.**



AVIVA

Changeinsurance.ca

Why Dion was not a leader, in his own words



PAUL WELLS

This week's lesson, not a message, is that a failure of correspondence can be fatal to a political career. Stéphane Dion told a roundtable of reporters on Monday what a very long list of Liberal MPs and failed candidates had tried to explain to him in the weeks since he lost the election. Again and again at the door, complaining Liberals were told: you're not Dion. Why? Because he kept talking about a carbon tax.

Well, that's pretty straightforward. Listening, I was actually impressed with the candour of these ex-candidates. Must be hard to tell a defeated leader that he was the problem.

Except it's not hard at all if the leader won't hear. Dion received all his visitors' positions and decided the voters had been mistaken. Or bewildered. The Conservatives spent so much money destroying him that Canadians never had a chance to thank him. To know Dion would have been to love him. To understand the carbon tax—sorry, Green Shift—would have been to adore a thing of beauty.

That complacent reading of events does Dion no honour. And because he is determined to stick around for a while, suggesting himself as potential tools for which he has shown no aptitude, the *professeur*'s eagerness to grade himself on a generous curve remains an obstacle to improved Liberal fortunes.

Before I light him some more, I want to emphasize—partly so you can decide what to make of my own judgment—that I have made no secret of my admiration for Dion for more than a decade. In the 2006 leadership race I named him more highly than his competitors. And in the recent campaign's first week I saw glimpses of a man engaged in retail politics (that Dion had never been before). There is so much to like about him.

But leadership is a personal or set of skills. Not everyone has them. One is an ability,

which begins with a simple willingness, to play the hand you're dealt. Grumbling about your hand is the eternal hallmark of the mediocre player. Dion shows no courage when he admits he "faked" and then proclaims, in the next breath, that his failure was imposed on him by foul advisers. No courage and no inclination to learn and apply hard lessons. He knew his opponents were fast, by his lights, when he asked for a mandate to beat them. He went about it badly from the outset.

Two of the assets of his competitors were party organization and parliamentary performance. Which is why so many Liberals were discouraged to hear he will stick around to reorganize the party and lead his

funders in he would speak for an hour and chase every vague particle of criticism from the room. He runs an office the way a faculty chair runs a faculty, which is to say that he cannot in any sense be said to run it at all. His competitors for an absence of imagination by requiring every decision be made by him, multiplying delay instead of dividing it.

In the Commons he shies English was only part of the problem. The greater part was a ridiculously tactical approach, an obsession with picking a scandal out of the morning's newspapers and getting onto the evening news while his story was read differently from the last or the next. No day was different from yesterday or tomorrow. If the Lib-

eral Conservatives could get away with one tone, inside dismissal, it's because the Dion Liberals only ever went at them without tone, leaving indignation. This inability to see beyond a question period was not Dion's making but he did nothing to question it.

Here, too, Dion's special leadership organization made things worse. An obsession with tactics made the 8:30 a.m. tactics meeting the only one worth attending. The more the party's various factions grumbled, the more the leader grumped—Paul Zel, Denis Cochrane—were invited to tactics to shut them up. The tactics meeting quickly became useless.



The 8:30 a.m. tactics meeting got too big. So he began a secret 7:30 meeting. Guess what?

party in the Commons.

Senior Liberal party staff knew in 2006 that the party's fundraising apparatus was out of date. That's why they pushed a new reorganization at the same convention that made Dion leader, so clear that great hide-bound secret insurance. They had outside experts prepare an elaborate strategy for modernizing the fundraising process. Detailed blueprints for change were delivered to Dion the day after he became leader. He ignored them. Not because he had a better idea but because he had none.

Since he became leader the party has gone from 15 million dollars to 16 million in the hole. It has had two presidents and three executive directors, none a professional organizer or fundraiser. Dion has had two chiefs of staff and four communications directors. At party

Ralph Goodale, the House leader, soon presided a secret "roof" tactics meeting at 7:18 to rank the outcome of the big fake tactics meeting afterward. Guess how long secret tactics lasted a secret. Guess how long the water clock was when they learned there was an inner circle. Guess how likely Dion is to fix all this if he believes his only problem is "Conservative propaganda."

Dion says the "reformed leaders' debate" finally gave him a chance to prove for himself. But he will never debate Harper on TV again. Instead he has given himself jobs he was never good at. He could begin by admitting, at least to himself, that he was never good at them. ■

ON THE WEB For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at www.paulwells.ca/blog/index.html.

PHOTO: GREGORY HEAL

Having a tough time deciphering what your medication is for?



My Meds A QUICK AND EASY WAY TO IDENTIFY YOUR MEDICATIONS

My Meds features colour-coded labels that you paste on to your medicine so you can quickly and easily identify your medications. It's one of the personalized tools and services in our innovative Healthwatch™ program. And Healthwatch is how Shoppers Drug Mart® pharmacies help you manage your health.

Healthwatch My Meds
My Meds My Life

SHOPPERS DRUG MART

©2010 Shoppers Drug Mart Inc. All rights reserved. Shoppers Drug Mart is a registered trademark of Shoppers Drug Mart Inc. Shoppers Drug Mart is a registered trademark of Shoppers Drug Mart Inc. Shoppers Drug Mart is a registered trademark of Shoppers Drug Mart Inc.



I had a message from a friend and heard these words: "The crazy shooter from the Polytechnique is your son." I said, "What!?"

MONIQUE LÉPINE TALKS WITH KATE FILLION ABOUT SHAME, GUILT AND LIVING WITH THE FACT THAT HER SON KILLED 14 WOMEN

Q Let's start on the evening of Dec. 6, 1989, when you first heard there had been shootings at the École Polytechnique in Montreal. At 3 came back from work and turned on the TV, like always, before going to my prayer meeting. I saw this news and I was in shock, like everybody else. Nothing like this ever happened here, in the province of Quebec, at an university. I thought it was terrible, a horrible tragedy. I went to my prayer meeting and I was moved to ask for prayers for the [gunman's] mother, not knowing it would turn out that I was the mother.

Q How did you find out that you were? **A:** The next day, I was at a conference, so nobody was able to find me. Afterwards, I went to work to make some phone calls, and I saw everybody all there, at 6 at night, and there was a lot of turmoil. I wondered, "What's happening?" My boss said we need to, "Go to your office, I need to speak to you." I thought he was calling angry, but now I think he just didn't know how to tell me. I went to my office to wait for him and I had a lot of messages, including one from someone that he never called me at work before, so I returned that and heard these words: "The crazy shooter from the Polytechnique was Marc." I said, "What?" and it was very intense. I saw my [son] walking toward me and I understood that he was to tell me my son was the killer.

Q Was it immediately believable? **A:** No, it was not. I was sad for me and, every time I saw someone who looked like him, I followed him. I didn't see [Marc's] body, I was not capable, emotionally, so part of me felt he was still alive. It's a mourning process, you see, and the denial was great.

Q While he was shooting outside his academic note he said he was fighting feminism, and 26 of the 28 people he shot before killing himself were women. Was this a misogynist attack?

A: It was. I could've been considered a feminist. I had a good job. It could've been a mission to that, I don't know. But it was not in my home that he was inspired to be misandric, he must have learned that in school, or from the guys around him, or maybe it's a genetic thing, I don't know.

Q In your new book, *Aftermath*, you say your ex-husband was also misandric—obscure, actually.

A: Once, he threatened my son's face so hard the marks were there for a week. But mostly it was psychological. He was forbidding me to pick up my child, in his intensity, if a baby was crying, you shouldn't console him. He was very cold. I don't think that he was a father, to tell you the truth. I would never have left the kids with him alone, I didn't trust him. He said himself, very loud, that kids before the age of six were like little dogs you had to train.

Q How did you respond to all this? **A:** I'm 70 years old, sorry, but, the women didn't have much power, you know, especially

in Quebec. I was scared of him, actually, and being scared, I was paralyzed. I was trying to protect my kids, keep peace. It was hard for me to leave because I have a religious background. I was a nun for a while, and it went against my [background]. But I did leave when my son was six and my daughter, Nadia, was four.

Q Afterwards was that a happier time?

A: At least it was more quiet. But it was a difficult time, because my husband told me he would put me in the street, which he did. He never said I should support. I had worked as a nurse, and I decided I had to go back to work to support my children. I couldn't go to work and leave my kids with me, so I decided that the best for them would be a stable family, with a mother, a father, and some other children. And they lived in families like that for 10 years.

Q Having separate families to take care of your kids must have been an extremely difficult decision.

A: Yes, but when else could I do? The money doesn't come from the love. My family couldn't help me, really. Dispute was not existing at that point.

Q How did you measure your children's? **A:** I had them every weekend.

Q Didn't they cling to you every Sunday, saying, "Mommy, don't leave us?"

A: Of course. At four and six, when do you expect? Kids of their own want my attention,



IMAGINE TWO OF THE BEST, TOGETHER.

After the quake and its aftershocks, investing in stocks can be tricky. It's with a little more than 27 years of Trimark's proven track record in the Canadian and U.S. stock markets and its global network, together, we manage more than US\$40 billion* globally, giving you the stability that comes with being one of the world's largest independent investment firms. Look forward to global investment opportunities you never thought possible. Ask your advisor about Invesco Trimark or visit www.invescotrimark.com.



*As of June 30, 2008. Invesco Trimark and all associated trademarks are trademarks of the Invesco Ltd. group of companies and are used pursuant to a license agreement where appropriate. © Invesco Trimark Ltd. 2008.

How do you explain a child that Maureen has to work because the needs to pay the bills, and that the father doesn't take his responsibilities? He is also studying during his week. To get a better job, you need education, so I did my baccalaureate and my master's while my kids were, you know, in these families.

Q What were the families like?

A Wonderful. Only one time, when the first family moved and I didn't know what to do with the kids, they went to live with a nurse for a month. When they were there, they regressed, it was not a good place. So I took them out and found another good family.

Q Where you raised, Marie was 12 and Nadia was nine. Did you see a big change in them after living apart for so long?

A Well, of course, because I didn't see them growing, you know. I had to adjust to them, and they had to adjust to me. I had difficulty coping with this new situation. Before friends of mine were psychologists, and they said, "Maybe you should detach, find out how you can deal with family members." So we went, the three of us, and the psychologist said he didn't need to see me or my sons, but he wanted to see my daughter. Then my son, after my daughter was difficult, then my son, and then there was a little competition between the two. It was always there. My daughter thought I loved my son more than her, you know? But she had behaviour that was not nice.

Q She picked on Marie a lot, made fun of him. Did you try to stop her?

A Yes. I was trying to reason with her. I thought it was her natural behaviour, but afterwards, when I found out she'd been taking drugs, I began to think it was emphasised by the drugs.

Q At one point, Marie was so upset that he went into the hospital. Was a crisis, and Marie Nadia's picture on a continuous. Did you think that was just a joke?

A I thought it was strange behaviour, I thought, "Why, it's something out of this world." But Marie was different than other boys.

Q Clearly because he didn't want to feel different, he legally changed his name at 14, from Gerald Galarin to Marc Lapine.

A Right. He was tired of being asked what nationality he was. Frank Canadian, of course! And the more [as a reminder of his father, who hadn't seen him since he was six]. He asked for that as a birthday gift, to change his name, and I agreed to pay for it. He was very determined child.

Q When you're thinking of your own now,

what name do you use?

A When I think of my little boy, the one I played with outside, we were doing with had good times with it, with Gerald. Marie, for me, is who he became on his own.

Q Can you tell us your best friend of Gerald, your sweet little boy, or at that time by the fact that Marie called you many people?

A I consider a separate. Gerald was a quiet child, very lovable, very soft, very sensitive to me. He wanted to please me. He was sensitive at a very young age, I never had to tell him to pick up his things. At 13, he was already the man of the house. He took this role himself. He was cutting the grass, shovelling the snow, I never had to tell him to do these things. He was a good boy, but so quiet! He never expressed his feelings, deep down inside.

Q And he didn't have a lot of friends, like Nadia.

A My son didn't need that many friends. He had his regular friends who were friends until he died, four or five of them who were always coming to my place.

Q Did he ever become angry?

A Yes. I cannot say he did not. He was watching a lot of war movies. He was very, very advanced in computers and electronics, those were two passions he had, and he was very good at computer games. I couldn't really follow when he was doing, but I think it was like today, these games were very aggressive, and he liked that, he wanted to be first. He was a strange guy, and an energetic guy.

Q Enigmatic?

A He could go to a tennis meeting, let's say just to see a couple, and he would know something without anybody would understand, even read that, just to impress people. He was very intelligent, but at that point it was normal.

Q Were you concerned about him?

A I'm not saying he was acting every day. He might do strange things, but I was not overly concerned because otherwise he was doing well. He was a mathematics competition in his college, his marks were good. I asked a teacher at his college, "Is he any good?" She told me, "No. He won't go to people, but if people are coming to him, he will be very hard with them."

Q And that's what you saw in your own house. Except when Nadia told you Marie had killed your cat?

A There was no proof. All we known is the cat never came back. I asked Marie, and he said, "No, I didn't kill the cat." Today I think it was possible that he did, but back then, I did not.

Q What is your deepest memory of him?

A I think him the most when he was eight

or nine, when he was learning... I'm for development. He was a lovely child. We're having fun together, then, at supper and afterwards playing games, all of it.

Q Do you find you had a good relationship with your children?

A Yes. It wasn't perfect, nobody's perfect, but I had very good moments with both of them.

Q Quite a few people spontaneously reached out and offered you support after the massacre.

A Yes. I never thought that people could just take a pen and write to a woman they didn't know, but I had four albums full of encouraging letters. People in churches also let



'What more could I have done? I don't know. I think this question should be asked of the father.'

me, all denominations, it was continuous. It gave me strength. It helped me to take a bit of distance from the tragedy.

Q It's easier for me to understand the grief of the parents of the 17 young women who were killed. What does it feel like to be the parent of the man who killed them?

A The shame was terrible. You feel you have passed value on to someone. You want to be alone, you don't want to see people any more. And the guilt? I'm not a murderer, for sure, but that was my son. Know at my

church. I was never mentioning that I was the mother of Marc Lapine. Nobody knew who I was.

Q Did you at any time feel alone already knew Marie was your son best of friends with you?

A No. Never.

Q When journalists called you "the mother of a monster," did you want to defend yourself, defend your son?

A No. I was alone for years. I had to be clear in my mind what he did, what I did, the reasons we had... I had to get better, my own self before I could start being with people and speaking about things. And after my daughter's death in '95, she was sixteen, I was in a thousand pieces.

Q Do you think her death was related to the massacre?

A She had problems with drugs already, but she couldn't cope with all this turmoil, so I think partially it was related. After she died, I didn't want to live anymore. I was just praying, praying, just living one day at a time, until in 2000, I felt I had a choice to live or die. And I chose life, no more God.

Q You're a very active volunteer. Do you volunteer as an attempt to give back, to make something—why?

A It's difficult in English, my goodness! Look, I believe that nothing happens for nothing, and [each of us can do] a purpose in life that nobody else can do but you. I was born to help people. The first I can give back to society, I will give. I work at food banks, I go sometimes to prisons, I speak in churches and in communities. People are aware of their own pain when they listen to me. They tell me things they've never said to anybody—about their son in jail, about suicide in their family—because they don't want to judge them. And it helps people to think, "If she did everything that I can overcome my own suffering."

Q Have you ever had contact with the mother of another child who did something like your son did?

A Yes, but I can't mention the names. I am very available for consults like that.

Q This was a difficult question to ask, but did you blame yourself for what your son did?

A It's a multiple factors, most probably, for him to do such a thing. But I tried to find out what I could have done wrong. And, actually, if I go back, I think I did what I could with my son. What more could I have done? I don't know. I think this question should be asked of the father.

Q Have you had any contact with him?

A No, since 1971. Only once, he wanted to see the kids in 1971, and when my son heard he was going to see his father he grabbed

the steering wheel of the car and pulled it all the way to the right, we wound up on the sidewalk. He didn't want to see him, he was scared. After that, we never saw or heard from [my son] again. Even when my kids died, his money sent a note or came to the funeral. Wonderly he was in Montreal, the police told me, but I don't even know if he's still alive.

Q Before writing this book, you granted a TV interview in 2008, following the Dawson College shootings. Was it difficult to speak out, finally?

A Yes. The first time I talked to me was Marie-Lapine, the daughter of Marc Lapine, and I said it loudly, I had my identity again. The shame and the guilt disappeared.

Q Is that the last time of your life, so far?

A Yes, I think so. Nothing could be worse than what I've been living. Now what I want to do is to live. Now I am, I have purpose in life, I have friends, and I want to enjoy years of happiness as I had of suffering. It could happen at times that I have shame, but I won't nourish it, and I will never let the shame destroy my life.

Q More you had any contact with the first son of the 14 women Marie killed?

A I've seen only one family. We just embraced, cried on each other's shoulders, and let the pain and shame come out. I don't think they asked me any questions at all. And I have no explanation—your career explains such a tragedy. The purpose was to let them know that the massacre was not a tragedy, it was a lot of grief. And I can see them any time, you know.

Q Are you concerned about how the other families may respond to your book?

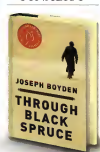
A I don't think that my suffering was hard in their suffering. If they accept me, fine. But [and] I do not deprive myself of continuing my life. I am a human being as much as they are. But I pay for them every day.

Q Something in your book really surprised me. You burned your photos of your children. Why?

A At that time of time when you ask, "Why? Why? Why?" I had no answer to my wife. A second writer told me, "Why don't you ask, 'How?' or 'What can I do now to have a better life?' It was part of my therapy, to tell the truth. I looked at a picture, then burned it, and said myself the good memories would be in my heart, and the bad things? I don't want to see them again."

Aftermath, by Marie-Lapine and Herold Gagne will be published by Penguin as Nov. 22, 2008.

THE SCOTIABANK GILLER PRIZE FINALIST



"With his second novel, the powerful and compelling *Through Black Spruce*, Boyden... settles in as a major voice in Canadian fiction."
—The Gazette (Montreal)

INTERNATIONAL BESTSELLER



"This novel is a remarkable achievement, and a breathtaking debut."
—The Globe and Mail

2008

Enter now for your chance to win a \$500 catered book club meeting and a phone call from Joseph Boyden.
Visit www.josephboyden.com to enter.

WHO'D WANT TO LEAD THE LIBERALS NOW?

Broke, disorganized, out of touch, the Grits face a long road back

BY JOHN GEDDES • As the depth of the Liberal defeat was sinking in on the evening of Oct. 14, Michael Ignatieff smiled out to console the party faithful crowded into a basement room below a bar in his midtown Toronto office. Recently, his crowd didn't need all that much backing up. Barely, their party had lost 19 seats and collected only 26 per cent of the popular vote, as lowest there ever. But this candidate had led his Fiashy color-Liberalism constituency, and was now poised to be a top contender for the leadership that everybody knew Stéphane Dion would soon have to resign.

Given the moment, Ignatieff might have chosen to announce a definite pension award on the victorious Conservatives, or offered the media a preview of the policy issues he would soon be peddling in the race to replace Dion. Instead, the celebrated author and former Harvard professor tried out a new persona: the high-brow guess-master of Canadian politics. "We have to examine every piece of the great Liberal machine," he told reporters. "We have to get it up on blocks, we have to take the what's off, we have to strip it off, look at the grain. The Canadian people have said, 'This isn't working for us.'"

Ignatieff's garage metaphor sounded up a widely held conviction among insider Liberals about what really went wrong for them in this fall's campaign—and long before it even began. Many of the party's most influential organizers and elected politicians, including Dion himself, point not to any fall away of leadership style, policy vision, or even ideological base, but rather to serious and bold organizational deficiencies. In particular, they're looking angrily at the Conservative party's superior ability to raise money in small increments, month after month, from thousands of determined supporters.

In this week's week, Maclean's will explore the post-election challenges facing all of the major parties. For the Liberals, it's all about rebuilding from the ground up, and figuring how to restore themselves to the natural status of Canada's natural governing party. Among Liberals casting a long view, the rebuilding these days has surprisingly little to do with how they first gambled on



"WE HAVE TO EXAMINE every piece of the Liberal machine," said Ignatieff (above). The party database lacks basic information, like which supporters wear lawn signs (right).

the improbable Dion as leader, then doubled down on his Green Shift as their platform centerpiece. Instead, they are preoccupied with how the party fell to its bed behind the Tories, and even the New Democrats, when it comes to the practical art of connecting with rank-and-file members. The leadership contest that will likely culminate at a Liberal convention next May in Vancouver was, unsurprisingly, platform reform a inevitable. But many top Liberals issue the real action is in daily workday. "My number one priority," says party president Doug Ferguson, "is to change the fundraising culture of the party."

How badly that culture needs changing can be proven with sometimes staggering figures. Last year the Tories raised close to \$17 million from 107,000 cash donors, leaving the Liberals with only 24.5 million from 23,421 backers, as their dues. The Liberals are, in part, victims of their own 2004 politeness reforms. Even though the party

had long relied heavily on corporate donations, along with sizable individual contributions gathered at the fundraising dinners, Jean Chrétien's government moved to limit businesses to giving \$1,000 a year and capped individual donations at \$5,000. The Conservative party—especially its grassroots-oriented Reform predecessor—couldn't tap companies as easily. So by necessity they had come to rely mainly on support that flowed naturally, in smaller amounts, from individuals. When Harper won power, he immediately tightened the rules further, banning business and union donations, and limiting individuals to \$1,100 a year.

What this meant for Liberals was obvious long before Dion won the leadership in late 2005. At the same time-honored convention, the party reformers in consultation to allow it to begin the dogging work of catching up with the Tories. The biggest task was to centralize the party membership lists, previously

PHOTO: GUY LAWRENCE/GETTY IMAGES

controlled by provincial wings, which some Tories guarded them to give their own fundraising first priority.

Ferguson says the task of creating that national membership list is complicated. The Liberals are still squabbling about establishing nationwide rules for joining the party, including a minimum membership fee. More problematic, according to a senior party official, is the fact that Liberal riding associations are not required, as they are in the Conservative party, to share key information about local supporters—like who takes lawn signs and shows up to meetings—with the party's national database. This sort of detail is considered crucial when it comes to targeting members for direct mail and email appeals.

At his own conference this week, Dion announced unexpectedly that he would step aside as leader until his successor is chosen. He vowed to devote himself to mediating Liberal feuding. The party has been in a prolonged "diagonal crisis," he said, which left it too poor to return for its early 2007 when

the Tories took kindly aim with TV ads portraying him as weak, vacillating from order. "We have to bring our fundraising machinery into the 21st century, or the Liberal party will be at a partisan, political disadvantage," Dion said. Ferguson says it's more than a matter of getting on an equal financial footing with the Tories. "We need to engage new members who have been feeling disconnected from the party."

The needs of the past few months' efforts are not all that encouraging. Last spring the Liberals launched what they called their Victory Fund, a bid to raise party support among as little as \$10 a month through an automatic credit-card deduction. But a party official said only about 1,000 donors are signed up under the program, out of a national

THE PARTY IS STILL SQUABBLING ABOUT SETTING NATIONWIDE RULES FOR JOINING



membership roll of about 60,000. The technology and the approach seem up to date, so what's going wrong? One difficulty could be the way self-defined activists, who tend to identify with the party, are also temperamentally less fervent than staunch night-wingers, left-wingers, or, for that matter, supporters. "The Bloc, the NDP and the Conservatives operate from a sort of ideological spectrum," says Tim Murphy, former chief of staff to prime minister Paul Martin. "They're motivated to give us more votes."

Under Harper, the Conservatives have shown they know how to push their members' buttons. The party responds swiftly to events as the news to stir up the non-establishment spirit of its popular base. Last year, Conservative campaign director Doug Huxley sent out a fundraising letter that capitalized on reports alleging a CBC journalist had worked with the Liberals on questions to his former prime minister Brian Mulroney at a House committee. "Blaming us Conservatives in Canada is never easy," Huxley wrote. "The Liberals have long benefited from the support of the country's most powerful media sources."

Merely appealing to the sort of insider dog mentality might not raise funds the longer the Harper government remains in power. Even during a long stretch in opposition, though, it's unlikely the Liberal base would respond to similar appeals. The approved outside material just doesn't fit with the power psychology of the Big Red Machine, repository of the academic Canadian identity. That leaves Liberals groping for ideas about how to rebuild their nature as a unifying coast-to-coast institution. Some senior Liberals are urging a serious effort to begin rebuilding in large numbers of the country where the party—now so overwhelmingly concentrated in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver—has drifted to its point of near irrelevance. "If we concede Alberta, rural Saskatchewan and Manitoba, rural Quebec," says Ferguson,

"how can we form a government?" Still, landing any life for Liberals is these now barren tundra in a long-term proposition. Facing a minority Tory government that's unlikely to last longer than three years, Liberals also need to move quickly to re-engage their core stalwarts. One time-honored possibility stage a high-level policy confab starting with an international thinkshop. There's plenty of precedent: Lester B. Pearson's 2004 Winston Churchill, Clinton's 1991 Aylmer Conference, and, of the previous

old party level, the 2001 Niagara Conference that helped pave the way for Dalton McGuinty's 2003 election as Ontario premier.

Since Liberals are already moving ahead holding another all-in gathering soon after a new leader takes over, even those who don't necessarily see the need for such a conference are beginning the internal debate over policy. Since Dean's emphasis on the environment was widely seen as pulling the party to the left, talk of taking back toward the centre is growing. "We are a party of the centre, not of the left," Ignatieff declared on election night. "What we hold the centre we win from the centre."

Maybe. But even a successful realignment of the party's mandate is still a long way off. It's likely won't succeed unless it's combined with a permit push to track out to more party members, most notably The Barack Obama campaign's staggering success in connecting with younger voters over the Internet is an obvious model, even if Obama's personal appeal is beyond question. "We need to look at tools that don't require massive advertising campaigns," says veteran Liberal voice Susan South. "The next generation of Canadians are looking to be inspired, looking for a vision for their country."

The idea that a whole generation is hungry for Liberal vision might smack of nihilistic thinking from a party not handed what should have been a hand-picked defeat. More than that, it reflects a reluctance on the part of some Liberals to answer their focus and start identifying voters more precisely. The Times don't hesitate to do just that, doggedly counting, subdividing voters and voters' children and second-generation Chinese Canadians. "For many Conservatives, it's about pigeon-holing people into categories and demographics," Smith says. "Liberals view voters differently—they are not numbers and statistics, they are people."

Not as they scramble to catch up with Conservative headcounting, some Liberals are also arguing behind the scenes in favour of maintaining their polling-based names for meeting in an acceptable voter and winnable seats. Ferguson says he advocates meeting to win, in all 101 ridings. But southern-voter Liberal strategist, who asked not to be named, suggested the party should focus on perhaps 125 constituencies, including the 76 it won Oct. 14. The would mean setting their sights only on a minority next time out—although conceding for a faster powerhouse used to nudging opponents, but perhaps nothing more than realistic for a cash-strapped political franchise caught in a rebuilding phase. ■

IN NEXT WEEK'S **MACLEAN'S**

The challenges facing the Conservatives



THE RCMP flew in explosives experts to examine the EnCana sour gas pipeline bomb site

THE MAD BOMBER OF MONTNEY PLAY

Too much growth, pushy oil companies. Something had to give.

BY NICHOLAS KÖBLER • The handful of Tumbler, B.C., home to some two dozen people, is spread thin across the farmland serviced by Rocky Mountain Drilling. For the past several years it has found itself in the centre of the Montney Play, one of North America's newest and most important sources of natural gas—a circumstance that has increasingly pushed over the community's idyllic farms and grain elevators an influx of pipelines and gas flares. "You look down on this valley," says lifelong Tumbler resident Eric Kestel, "and it looks like a big cake with candles on it."

Though gas brings jobs and money to the area, not everyone is happy about living on the Montney Play. Last Thursday morning, Tim Schram, the 44-year-old owner of a sporting goods store in nearby Dunsen Creek, was following a corridor of pipeline cut through the bush in his Dodge truck looking for dirt when he came across a disturbance in the dirt. "Something looked a little peculiar," says Schram, who mulls wondering briefly whether this might be the site of the EnCana pipeline bombing the previous weekend.

That explosion, beneath a sour gas line as far from Schram's home, created a two-metre crater in the earth, spilling from it 100 tonnes of "Whosever was behind the bomb had been helpful enough to ensure little winning

more, sent to local media, demanding that oil and gas outfits leave the area and sending us hurt." "We will no longer negotiate with terrorists which you are as you keep endangering our health with crazy expansion of deadly gas wells in our home lands," But Schram dismissed the idea and went on with his day. "I just thought well, if that were the site of the blast, they would surely have some idea and there'd be people around."

On his way back from scouting for pipes, Schram encountered police. He had unwittingly been right at the scene of a second explosion—the fissure of a sour gas leak alerted EnCana workers—and Schram was now a suspect. "They dragged me out of their giant dumper and they wasted my hands on the window and the whole show," he says. "I was pretty understanding," Schram, who knew one of the officers, was able to explain himself. That's how it is—or has been until recently—in north-eastern B.C., a string of communities where, as local politician Wayne Eberhart puts it, "everyone knows their neighbour and their neighbour's dog." Yet with the growing industrial interest in the Montney Play, Herbert added, "now people all of these other people coming and going and you're not sure who's driving by your place."

The pace of work has been dizzying. Last week, B.C.'s monthly auction of oil and gas rights netted \$151 million, bringing the province's total auction revenue this year to \$2.47 billion. An earlier auction, in July, earned a record \$601 million. Most of the drilling

JAMES LAMONTAGNE FOR THE GLOBE AND MAIL

IN THE FUTURE IT WILL GET ITS POWER FROM A PLUG OVERNIGHT INSTEAD OF A PUMP DURING THE DAY

It's not so-far. Electric cars will be on the road sooner than you think. They will get you where you're going during the day. Then they will refuel with electricity at night when you plug them in. And we all want that electricity to be cleaner. So where will we get that cleaner electricity? We'll get it from renewables like hydroelectric, wind and solar. And we'll get it from nuclear that runs day in and day out, rain or shine 365 days a year. We'll get most of it from Ontario Power Generation. Just as we always have.

Want to know more about Ontario's cleaner electricity future? Visit opg.com



ONTARIO POWER
GENERATION

Experience Austria on your way to Austria.

Winner of the 2007 and 2008 Skytrax World Airline Awards for Best Business Class Catering.
Fly Austrian. Your pleasure is our business.

For information and reservations call 800.843.0032 or visit www.austrian.com. Earn miles with Miles&More & Aeroplan.

Austrian
We fly for your smile.



www.austrian.com

lection come on the Motown Play or just nerfed there, as the Horn River flows another gas locomotive. "The rest of the world may be having a recession," says Kautz, who means cars for a living. "We certainly are not."

That's not exactly agreed doing, some say. A half-century of pipelines, often carrying petroleum left over gas, criss-cross the region, local companies they have been visible even to persuade government to regulate buffer zones between industrial installations and their homes. In winter, traditionally a busy drilling period because the frozen ground can support heavy equipment, the pipeline state of places like Dawson Creek explode. Traffic on the road never meant to move industrial loads. And police struggle to run on the Saturday night impulses of the workers celebrating their earnings in town. "The big problem is money and boredom—and anxiety and boredom equals drugs," says environmental consultant Brian Churchill, running for mayor in nearby Fort St. John.

So we're understood, though don't confuse, what might drive a suburban. "This is someone who's been very deeply disturbed by basically their entire world being changed in very short order," says Churchill. Locals speak of a sense of powerlessness in the face of the boom and an atmosphere of anxiety in a region where oil and gas companies are the major employers. "A lot of people who work in the patch can't speak out," says Rick Roschke, a junior high science teacher and spokesman for the Old Hope Road residents association. "If they did it would cause their grief—they'd be fired."

One such has been the plight of landowners, who say they have received over their property one of oil and gas companies purchase the subsurface rights beneath their. "Probably the first time that I would know what was going on was when a land agent knocked on his door and wanted him to sign an agreement that would allow industry to come on his land," says Gerd Johnson, president of the Coalitions of the Peace Country Society, which has worked for half a decade to improve the situation. "Last week we couldn't have bought an interview with these major media outlets," he adds. "Thousands of people and do something stupid like this and then get all kinds of attention."

Kautz, who's still lives in the home his grandfather built, has had enough. "I didn't say into an industrial park, my family's been here since 1899," he says. "If you're going to change it into an industrial park, will then buy me out, let me leave. I don't want to be here. The house is for sale if you want to buy it. So a lot of other people's in this community. Now there's another thing in here that none of us expected—some road bomber!"

AUSTRIAN AIRLINES PHOTO: MICHAEL SCHNEIDER

RAISING PAY TO CUT POVERTY

When government sets wages, funny things can happen

BY PETER SHAMON TAYLOR • In the early 1990s, Takoma, Md., was among the most blighted of America's blighted downtowns. Its poverty rate was twice the national average. Drugs, crime and decay abounded. In one local paper, the *Dulles News*, called it a "Third World city." In response, the city embarked on a massive experiment in urban rehabilitation and anti-poverty policies. That included something called the "living wage."

Dulles' living wage policy required all city employees, as well as anyone working for a contractor doing business with the city, to earn an hourly wage of at least \$6.10 per hour—substantially above the then minimum wage of \$4.75. The goal was to lift full-time local workers out of poverty by ensuring their wages were sufficient to support a family. The efficacy of a living wage in fighting poverty has been the subject of much debate, but it has also been widely copied. Since 1994, 140 other American cities, including New York City, Dallas, Chicago and San Francisco, have adopted similar policies.

Now, after more than a decade in the spotlight, the living wage is making its way to Canada. The time around, however, isn't as poor cities leading the charge. It's the reverse.

Calgary is on track to become the first Canadian city to adopt a living wage policy early next year. The Regional Municipality of Western in southwestern Ontario, a close behind. And the small rural municipality of Yellowknife, Ont., near Niagara Falls, is also considering the concept. All three areas are notable for above-average incomes.

According to David Cook, research social planner with Calgary, his city's living wage proposal is "recognition that having a job in Calgary doesn't necessarily mean you are not in poverty." Despite one of the highest labour markets in the country, Cook argues significant numbers of working Calgarians find themselves at food banks or in shelterless situations because of still too minimum wage alone

fail to provide the necessities of life. The Calgary proposal, if adopted by council, would set all city employees and services staff (such as cleaners) guaranteed a municipal minimum hourly wage of \$11.25, well above the \$8.75 provincial minimum. "We will be moving people out of poverty," argues Cook. Of course, taxpayers may ask, at what cost?

Cook claims bringing city employees up to living wage will cost taxpayers only \$400,000 per year. Most staff already make more than \$12.25. As for contracted labour, he figures the extra expense will be negligible. U.S. research suggests most cities experience very small increases in contract costs—typically one per cent or less of total city expenses. The absence of city council and several higher labour costs at lost profit rather than raise their bids



IF THE CALGARY plan is adopted, city workers are guaranteed at least \$12.25 an hour.



There are exceptions, however. In Baltimore, potential customers must sit for an hour. But while the direct costs appear small, it's unclear if the living wage is really an effective way to help the working poor. In Calgary the employees aren't likely to see their wages rise as casual staff in the recreation department, concession attendants, youth leaders and buskers. These jobs are typically held by summer students unable to be their families' sole breadwinners.

And after a decade of evidence in the U.S., the broader picture is equally unconvincing. While the lucky few receiving a living wage obviously see their incomes rise, this seems to create little in the way of positive knock-on effects. Some studies do show small increases in local wages. Others show small increases in local employment. One study found that three-quarters of all recipients of the living wage were sent to poverty to begin with. And the poverty rate in Baltimore actually rose between 1990 and 2000.

The living wage appears to be a symbolic rather than practical effort at poverty reduction. This may explain why it's now attracting the attention of critics in Canada. They want to appear to be doing something. In Detroit and Baltimore, business communities fought living wage proposals because they were worried it would increase already high unemployment rates and burden businesses. In booming Calgary, Heather Douglas, president of the Calgary Chamber of Commerce, says she backs a living wage because "it's the right thing to do."

It has also been suggested by some American critics that living wage policies are driven by municipal unions eager to make contracts any more expensive. Regardless of motivation, the prospect of government interference in the labour market via the living wage could create some other unforeseen problems.

Jon Kozminski, professor in the public policy program at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, is critical of a living wage strategy without low-cost child care, day camps for their training or education. It could also lead to frustration in the searching of attractive city sites. And having businesses set wages could lead to a variety of bizarre outcomes. Advertisers in Pillars, for instance, propose that the living wage vary with hourly construction rates. Single mothers would thus earn more than married workers or single individuals doing the same job. "Asian women cost," says Kozminski, "I like to see the market setting prices, rather than government." He argues it's better to address working poverty through tax credits, wage supplements and other labour market measures. Of course, giving businesses huge raises probably sounds like a good idea to businessies. ■

Shocker: our drugs aren't cheap at all

BY PETER KRAHN TAYLOR • Compared to the U.S., drug prices here in Canada seem pretty low. Certainly the Americans who were ordering one pharmaceutical over the Internet a few years ago seemed to think so. But



WE PAY MORE for drugs than any Western country except the U.S.

A new study has found that both Canadians and Americans pay much more for their drugs than any other Western country.

The Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) found that the average Canadian spends US\$184 per year on drugs, while the average American spends US\$179. Both figures are far above the US\$64 OECD average. The study found that retail prices for patented drugs in Canada are 25 per cent higher than relative prices across the other countries. For generic drugs—medicines no longer covered by patents—our costs are a shocking 70 per cent above the average.

So why do we pay so much more than the rest of the world?

One possibility is that we are one of only four countries (along with the U.S., Finland and Mexico) without a national pharmaceutical program. This fact was briefly an election issue, with both the NDP and Liberals promising federal drug plans to help respective electorates.

However, the OECD report flags "regulatory failures and lack of competition" as prominent drug boards as the main reason for Canada's high generic drug prices. Bruce Sloan, director of pharmaceutical research at the Fraser Institute in Toronto, agrees. He says the best way to lower drug prices in Canada is not by launching a pharmaceutical program, but by opening the generic market to more competition and relaxing government price controls.

"We overpay for generics as a result of government policy," he says. "We don't need another government program to fix it." ■

Don't shoot! Bambi decoy nabs hunters.

BY MICHAEL FRAPCOLANTE • It seemed like a slam dunk case (although "bull's eye" is probably a more fitting metaphor). In 2005, concerned residents of Owen Sound, Ont., began to complain about reckless hunters shooting at game from the comfort of their cars. Hoping to snare a poacher in the act, provincial conservation officers orchestrated a standard sting operation: they planted a decoy—a fake, life-sized, white-tailed deer—in a vacant field. And then they waited.

On Nov. 10, just before 8 a.m., the Buckton brothers took the bait. Gerald and Bruce 'N' stopped their pickup truck on the shoulder, three gunshot rings out, and a few minutes later, enforcement hit them: first a police officer—still wearing his helmet and a police hat that declared that there was "ample evidence" to justify the bust.

Yet three years and two appeals later, the case is still dragging through the courts. What should have been a straightforward trial has evolved into a legal battle over the ministry's right to use artificial animals as a means to trap illegal hunters. The Bucktons claim that the decoys represent an "abuse of process" that



THE BUCKTONS say luring them with a fake deer was wrong.

"is inherently dangerous, tantamount to the state inducing people to shoot themselves at dangerous situations." The defence tactic worked the first time around. A justice of the peace stayed all charges in 2006, in part because the wildlife officers did not use the decoys for the purpose of placing pheromones on the property last month, however, a higher court judge reversed the decision and ordered a new trial, ruling that the decoys are neither an abuse of process nor a danger to obvious bystanders. "There were no birds up or farm animals in the vicinity," Justice Julia Mordue wrote in her 11-page ruling. "There was an evidence that some humans or animals came onto the scene before or during the alleged shooting. The officers were in a position to halt the operation if public safety became an issue." A date has not been set for trial number three. ■

There's no time like the present for a fresh perspective.

Whether you're thinking of expanding your business, automating your company payroll or tapping into new markets, it's an ideal time to work with a CBC business advisor to develop new financial solutions for your company. We'll start by identifying your key business goals and then develop a fresh perspective on how you can achieve them.

We'll assess your current situation.

You and your advisor will also determine where your business is right now and discuss your specific

needs—such as managing cash flow, daily administration or borrowing strategies that will meet your financial objectives. Together, you'll

Working with a CBC business advisor, you'll get:

1. A fresh perspective on your business
2. An assessment of where you are right now
3. A plan for today and tomorrow

decide which financial solutions will work best for you and your business.



For what matters.

You'll have a customized, actionable plan to help your business grow.

Because every business is unique, you and your CBC business advisor can also draw upon a team of financial specialists who can help tailor financial solutions for your specific needs. Ultimately, you'll have a customized, actionable plan for your business.

Want to know more?

Visit a CBC branch and talk to a CBC business advisor today. Or call us at 1-800-465-2422 or visit cbc.com. It's worth a talk.™

IS IRAQ ABOUT TO BLOW UP AGAIN?

The Sunni awakening brought a fragile peace, but frustration is starting to boil over
STORY AND PHOTOGRAPHS
BY ADRIAN R. KHAN

Few things are more emblematic of the gap between mere progress and success in Iraq than the gateway to Falluja. The progress lies in the fact that it is a gateway now, and not the insurmountable barrier it was even just a year ago when Falluja, the most populous city in the mostly Sunni Muslim western province of Anbar, was synonymous with a killing war. It was here in the spring of 2004, 60 kilometers from the capital Baghdad, that four U.S. civilian contract workers were killed after their convoy was ambushed. Chained weapons were hurled from the trappings of a bridge while facemasked and clad. Today, even the mention of that gruesome incident makes riotous madmen cackle. It's harder than anyone they say, lowering their eyes. The people who did that are all gone.

But understanding how fragile progress can be is the fact that the gateway militants at all. To make sure millions like the ones

who murdered the foreign workers remain gone, the entrance to what remains one of Iraq's deadliest places is still an imposing array of blast walls, razor wire, checkpoints and military hardware. No one gets in without first being checked and grilled about their purpose. Buses and taxis must drop off passengers outside the complex. They then walk, through metal detectors and body searches, past signs that read, "You are entering a military installation. What are your intentions?" "No photographs." "Deadly force authorized."

If the U.S. had a border with Iran, this is what it might look like. But unlike Iran, Falluja is not supposed to be enemy territory anymore. Nearly two years ago, the Sunni tribesmen who had been fighting the U.S. occupation of Iraq realized that they were wedged between two equally distant but adversarial camps. On the one side were the invading Americans, who had deposed their beloved leader Saddam Hussein and transformed their life of privilege and comfort into one of suffering and uncertainty. On the other side were small bands of foreign fighters from places like Syria and Saudi Arabia, working under the umbrella jihadi movement al-Qaeda in Iraq. They had come to wage holy war on the U.S. led coalition, which for the Sunnis

tribesmen was welcome—at first.

But along with these jihadists came an ideology Iraqis were unfamiliar with—millent, perditional brand of Islam that the foreigners imposed on their hosts with unending fervor. Believing wholeheartedly that they were on a mission from God, these radicals killed and maimed indiscriminately, flouted tribal laws and customs, and ultimately acquired enough powerful orders to find themselves on the wrong side of numerous blood feuds. Thus across the Sunni-Arabic, for "awakening"—Coined in late 2006, a coalition of Sunni tribes that, according to Yusuf Sweith Awad, a Salwa leader in Falluja, chose to "rise up politically" in Iraq and counter the violent attack that al-Qaeda in Iraq had led them on. Their goal was what the U.S. had been warning for, and in some cases actually pursuing, offering to employ the tribesmen as unofficial security forces in Sunni dominated areas, and pay

IRAQI ARMY SOLDIERS. Some government members think the army is strong enough to take over security, but has it been really tested?



ing each former insurgent at least US\$400 per month to keep the peace. The Salwa, say most people on the ground in Iraq, including U.S. military commentators, have transferred Falluja.

For Salwa leaders, there was no other choice. "I was fine when the foreigners were fighting the Americans," says Awad. "Then they started fighting the tribes. They started war between the tribes." Salwa leaders were forced to pick a side—and they chose the Americans.

That alliance, as unlikely as it seems, has survived despite the odds. And with the relative calm, on Sept. 6 the U.S. handed over security of Anbar province to the Iraqi Army, with an capital Ramadi, 50 km west of Falluja, was al-Qaeda's base of operations. Protected by the region's tribes, militants had been free to carry out kidnappings, murder attacks and bombings, tactics that caused havoc for U.S.

military planners. The militants also adopted a strategy that would ultimately push Iraq to the edge of civil war—sectarian attacks against Iraq's Shia majority.

Pushing back from the abyss has been no small feat. That accomplishment says a lot about how the insurgency in Iraq worked, and that the al-Qaeda threat was never as dire as the Bush administration had made it out to be. "There were small groups of them coming in as though Syria," says one former Salwa insurgent, identifying himself only as Abu Zaid. "They were mostly the outside brothers and some fighters. But the resistance has always been 90 percent Iraqi. We worked such that because we were fighting the same people." It was a coalition of circumstance, loosely bound by the weak demands of a common enemy. With that alliance shattered, the pace at which Iraq's violence has dropped is astonishing. It happened

virtually overnight.

Which reveals the Achilles heel in the current state of peace. If Iraq's Sunni tribes have collectively decided to stop fighting, could they also collectively decide to resume? That possibility is in the hands of everyone, from the former U.S. top commander in Iraq, Gen. David Petraeus, who has warned repeatedly of the "fragility" of Iraq's relative calm, to the Salwa militiamen that resist. "Eighty per cent of the Salwa are former insurgents," says Zaid, a 20-year-old Salwa member in Falluja. "I fought the Americans and I will fight them again. So will many of the other fighters I know—if our demands are not met."

What those demands are depends on who you talk to. For the average fighter, it means a job and a future. For the Salwa leadership, it means a stronger role for Iraq's Sunnis in the Shia-dominated government. For both,



IN BAGHDAD'S Bad City, a Shia stronghold (top left), Shiite police and street scene from the Sunni Al-Nasr district.

it also means an end to occupation. None of that seems achievable in the near future. Any agreement on the U.S. presence in Iraq would require the American military on Iraq soil at least until the end of 2011. And it will need the approval of Iraq's parliament, in fact, quick passage of a deal currently being negotiated is new in doubt as the main coalition of Shi'as parties, the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council, or SIC, and the Islamic Dawia Party lead by Iraq's Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, appear to be on the verge of collapsing, reportedly due to competing visions for the country's future. Maliki, and the Americans, want an Iraq with a strong central government. The SIC, whose power base is in the oil-rich south, fears more decentralization in a country that is already effectively split between Shi'a, Sunnis and Kurds.

For now, Sunnis have been struggling for political legitimacy in Baghdad. But while a breakdown of the Shi'a coalition would not really be a reason for them to celebrate, the reality remains that Shi'a will continue to dominate the central government—and the

rest of Iraq's estimated 100,000 Sunni militants remain into the security forces and government departments appear to have fallen by the wayside—even as the U.S. transferred administration oversight, including payment, of the 50,000 Sunni militia members currently in Baghdad's Sunni areas over to the Iraqi government in early October. As for Salwa, Iraq is giving a stronger voice to the government, the Maliki administration now seems more intent on consolidating its own power in the face of the decentralizing alliance with the SIC—and has been less than waving against the efforts of the Sunni leadership.

Military successes in other parts of Iraq have emboldened the country's original government. An offensive in March and a renewed win of militant Shi'a cleric Muqtada al-Sadr's movement, which has aggressively fought the U.S. occupation, was tagged as the Iraqi army's first significant victory. Fierce battles in Basra and in the Maliki-controlled Sadr City district of

SUNNIS WANT JOBS AND A VOICE IN GOVERNMENT. BAGHDAD HAS NOT DELIVERED.

Baghdad reportedly crushed the Saddam and restored government control.

Citing that victory to argue that the Iraqi army is now ready to assume full control over Iraq's security, Maliki has been pushing the U.S. to set a firm deadline for the withdrawal of American troops. Politically, the confidence now being in Baghdad is transforming the central government, previously the core rallying claim close to Maliki in the Dawia

party. In the past, a policy of appeasement toward regional political groups and their militias was the only way to keep the peace. Now it appears Maliki is strong enough to attempt to spread central government control over Iraq's provinces—with potentially destabilizing consequences.

In August, Iraqi forces moved into Kirkuk, an ethnically mixed zone of Arabs, Turkis and Kurds in the north. Diyala province bordering Iraq to the east and the autonomous Kurdistan region to the north. For months, Kirkuk had been under the control of the peshmerga, a Kurdish militia force that has been a key ally of the U.S. Kurdish forces took to the streets, demanding that the Iraqi army, made up mostly of Arabs, leave. The standoff was only resolved following intense negotiations, after which the peshmerga were allowed to reoccupy the town.

That incident highlights the unresolved tensions between Iraq's sectarian groups. In Falluja, the Iraqi army, considered an extended version of the Bad Organization—the armed wing of the powerful Shi'a cleric Muqtada al-Sadr—did not enter the city, siding with the Sunni-led peshmerga police. Formerly Shi'a militiamen, run security During the height of Iraq's sectarian violence

in 2006, the Bad Organization was accused of running secret torture chambers, where hundreds of disappeared Sunnis were killed on the pretext of involvement with insurgent groups. The Iraqi army's close relationship with the Bad Organization, real or imagined, makes it an awkward presence in Sunni-dominated areas. In Falluja specifically, and more broadly in Sunni provinces, it is viewed with suspicion. "The American knows it," says one security contractor working closely with U.S. forces, requesting anonymity because of the sensitivity of the issue. "They've asked the army to stay out for now. They don't want the Maliki government opening the Pandora box they've created. It's precarious. It could crash at any moment."

So despite the official handover of Falluja to Iraqi security forces, in practice the rulebook is still run by the Sunnis. Recently, it appears Maliki is not about to fully let go of the Sunnis, many of whom former Saddam loyalists, consolidate their power under the umbrella provision of the U.S. Constitution their numbers, they represent a potential threat to the Dawia Shi'a's overarching aspiration to exert full control over Iraq.

At Falluja's Salwa Office, Basim Sabah Awad is paid a surprise visit by Col. Faisal Hassan, Falluja's former police chief. Hassan was ousted from his post four months ago by Iraq's central authorities, accused of being a member of a "terrorist" organization. His son has already been arrested by the Iraqi army and he feels that his fate is also coming, though he dismisses his own part of the Sunni insurgency. "I don't know why they are doing this," he says, adding that he became police chief in 2006, when Falluja was still a hotbed of insurgent activity. "I brought peace to this city. I met with the Shi'ite and convinced them to turn against al-Qaeda. My main goal was to bring the police force closer to the Americans and I accomplished this. Now the Iraqi army has no idea I'm a criminal."

Hassan is not alone. Over the past few months, dozens of Salwa leaders have been arrested, hundreds more are on a hit list. As tributed to Iraqi army men and women. Iraqi authorities claim that they are investigating these members of the Salwa who are based on their hands. But to many observers, it looks more like a wish hunt for influential leaders, intended to weaken the movement. Some Salwa leaders also argue, and rightly so, that if none of their fighters have killed innocent civilians, so his the government, joining an auxiliary finger at the Bad Organization and its torture chambers.

Revolutionaries, however, appears to be a stark Maliki is unwilling to follow in the army

rounds up Salwa members, many of whom have been preparing themselves to join Iraq's struggling police force. In one incident in Falluja May, three Salwa leaders were arrested only days after they announced they would be running for provincial elections, originally scheduled for this month but now delayed until Jan. 31, 2009. That has prompted many others, like Hassan, to go into hiding, even as U.S. authorities have condemned the arrests, accusing the government of being politically motivated.

The Brig. Gen. Nasir al-Hin, the 38-year-old commander of the 14th Brigade, 6th Division of the Iraqi army, based out of Baghdad's Alaa Ghazib suburb, 40 km east of Falluja, scoffs at the accusation. "The

Salwa, equally the best organized and well-equipped militia in Iraq, should "go back north or face the consequences."

Tough talk like this is not making the Iraqi army any friends among its rival sectarian militias. It's also questionable whether the relatively untrained Iraqi forces are up to the task of taking on well-organized militias like the peshmerga or even the Shi'a without American support. The victory over the Maliki is a poor measure of their readiness. It came only after the offensive suffered early losses, forcing the Americans to intervene, and against an isolated enemy. Muqtada al-Sadr, who had ordered a unilateral ceasefire in August 2007, seven months prior to the Maliki-ordered spring offensive, never gave



SMILES AND DEVIATION: Children in Sadr City, after the Iraqi army's offensive

Americans crushed the Salwa without consulting with us," says the man responsible for arresting Hassan's son. "Now we have to clean up the mess. There are good guys and bad guys in the Salwa. We're going after the bad guys."

As for who decides who is "bad," Hiti pilots out that he has "interrogated" as many as 4,000 former insurgents and gleaned reports of fundamentalism. "These are indoctrinated men from poor families," he says. "They fought for money, not for an ideology, so it is easy to get information from them. And they are willing soldiers of my men could take out 10 of them." Pointing a gun to the military wing of the Maliki army in Basra and Sadr City, Hiti claims that no militants are involved in the Iraqi army anymore. He suggests the Kurdish pesh-

merga, after the Shi'a militia to break in all-out battle, leaving rogue elements within the Maliki movement to do the bulk of the fighting. The reason for his narrative may—perhaps his Iranian backers hold him back. Over the past year, Sadr's movement has authorized its approach to Iraqi occupation, some suggest at the behest of Iran, was informing itself into an Iraqi version of the Lebanese Hezbollah with a focus on social progress and what Sadrists describe as their own kind of "banking," a program of subsidies and welfare. Heiheihei, the Sadrists now claim that they will only keep a core group of highly trained fighters who will defend Iraqi against "American aggression." Some observers also argue that by letting uncontrollable fighters die in a hope for a fight while holding back his hard-core kiyakins, Sadr gave himself the

But while it is difficult to characterise the insurgency's victory over the Malakans as a notch on any military belt, the campaign was a signal that the Malakans' government is coming.

**SYMPATHY FOR
AL-QAEDA
REMAINS, SAYS
ONE FORMER
INSURGENT. THE
FUTURE IS 'DARK.'**

Many observers, though, are not optimistic. "I do not consider the Iraq Accordance Free of releasing the economic condition as co-

This is a process that could rattle the grip among the Sannio, who represent a real political and military danger. Certainly the Salento movement has coalesced into a powerful military and political force with the potential to challenge Maliki's grip on power as Iraq moves toward provincial elections. "Malikistan is a political threat," says Awad. He never expected it to be so significant under the current political environment. It's taken him by surprise and all of these upstarts are a sign that he is mistaken."

Arber's tribes have a history of switching sides to suit their own agendas, whether on a national scale or simply regional. They propped up Saddam and allowed him to extend his rule well beyond what most people

THE CLIENT WANTS TO SEE HIS NEW WEBSITE IN ACTION. AND IT WON'T WAIT 'TIL DESSERT.



GET MOBILE HI-SPEED INTERNET WHEN YOU NEED IT.

Whatever the job calls for, you're ready with a Rogers smartphone or Rocket Mobile Internet Stick on the Rogers 3G Network. Now you can browse, source and download at speeds twice those of any other carrier.* So, whatever you need to source when you're on the go, now you've got it. Faster.



Devices starting at
\$24⁹⁹
with a 3-year term

Visit rogers.com/GOTit
or call 1.866.575.4635

CANADA'S FASTEST MOBILE NETWORK
2X FASTER THAN ANY OTHER

[illegible]

would have thought possible after the nuclear confrontation in his war against Iran during the 1980s and the subsequent mounding of lives on the floor of the White House when he became president. The U.S. to focus their fight against al-Qaeda. Now those fans no want a piece of Iraq's destiny. But in Baghdad, the capital of Ashura, a power struggle between tribes is already shaping up, according to Tassaf.

"It's not like Falluja (here)," he says. "There is no central police station like there here. Every district has its own security run by a different unit." Politically, that makes for a complex mix of alliances and enmities. As elections approach, whoever controls key areas like Basra and Falluja will influence politics. They will be as a person to make political appointments to everywhere from the police force to government revenue departments. In a tribal context, that ultimately means the power to rule one of your own—raising the specter of real-time tribal conflict.

Terror, though, seems to be ebbing some degree of intensity and unity in an increasingly fractious Iraq. But the real test will come in the months to come, after the U.S. invasion.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN MOVING AGAINST THE SUNNI LEADERSHIP

By the October of overthrow of Baghdad's Baathist authorities to the Iraqi government (the remaining 40,000 are so primarily in Ashura, and will remain under the direct oversight of the Americans) "What the Iraqi government chooses to do with them will likely determine whether or not the insurgency breaks out here. Already, the signs are not promising. American Sunni leaders is clearly not conducive to building an atmosphere of trust. Nor is the unwillingness of American Sunni tribes to allow Iraqis to take over security forces."

In Ashura, one of Baghdad's key Sunni districts and at one time the site of running gun battles between U.S. forces and insurgents, the edges have begun to fray. The movements to the past fighting are every where, from the bullet-riddled walls and charred remains of storefronts to the garbage strewn streets. Much of the district remains desolate, even after a year of relative calm, as families who fled the fighting still look and try to rebuild their destroyed lives. "Ashura was and is the pride of Baghdad," says Abu Ahmad, a 40-year-old former leader now working as an administrator at a

Sunni office in Ashura at al-Qaim neighborhood. "We look at it. It's destroyed." For the Sunni militants who still Ashura home, there is little left to do but turn checkpoints and wait for the next push in Iraq's ongoing war. Looking for work in other districts is not an option, as the by-products of Iraq's sectarian fighting fields was a partitioning of the city into tightly knit communities where families face are welcomed but outsiders are regarded with suspicion, and often outright scorn.

The militants in Ashura have little faith in the Iraqi government's promises. "You can follow a war and hope eventually he will sell the truck," says Abu Salim, the commander of the al-Qaim Salim. "Or you can turn your back on him." For Salim, turning your back is not an option. All of them say that they will return to fighting if the government abandons them.

"Mulla wants to finish us," says Abu Ali, a 35-year-old militiaman. "I say we have done so much to bring peace to Iraq. Now we're under attack from Qaida. If the Iraqi army or police come here and tell us to leave, we will fight them. We are ready to continue our fight for years." Limiting this movement, the security forces is the only solution. Ali adds, pointing out that the deep mistrust of outsiders means that the local people will not accept anyone but local ones to police their area.

But according to Salim, the pace of the integration process is nowhere near where it needs to be. "The last 400 of us in the police force," he says. "But that's thousands of men who will be in the police force. The 150,000 per month the military receive from the Americans is barely enough to live on in Baghdad. If the Iraqi government refuses to continue these payments, desperation could force many of these men back into al-Qaeda's grasp."

This would mean a sudden, and possibly irreversible, end to the peace in Iraq. The danger is never very far. Ashura still has al-Qaeda sympathizers. Salim says, as does Ashura governor. They are mixed, waiting as the shadows for the Sunnis to disarm. The current price has presented an opportunity for Iraq's central government to interfere with Iraq's sectarian groups, but Mulla's overarching approach is not winning. Mulla's vision is to build a state of political power and justice. For now, Salim is holding their frustration close. But the alternative, according to Salim, can be summarized in one word: "Dark."

WILL IT BE ELECTION CHAOS?

Technical glitches and partisanship may complicate U.S. results

BY LUIZA CH. BAYAR • The "butterfly" ballot in Florida's Palm Beach County that started up the 2000 presidential election with their hanging, jagged, and otherwise perplexing "chads" have been replaced by optical scan cards—but a post-race that saw a local judicial election found that new machines that count them couldn't count up with the same result twice. As early voting gets underway across the country, technical glitches and pre-emptive partisan lawsuits are putting everyone on edge as the results of the 2000 presidential election. In North Carolina, voters waiting to pick a "straight Democratic ticket" have to remember that they need to vote for Barack Obama on a separate presidential ballot. In West Virginia, some Democratic voters said that some of the machines they used to vote were not working properly. In the state of Ohio, some Democratic voters said that some of the machines they used to vote were not working properly.

The order of the machines has been changing. A Democratic attorney in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., Charles Johnson, has accused that he will effectively lead the largest loss in American lives. When he comes back to 1,000 people who will show up to the polls to vote, they will be told to vote for the Republican. The FBI is investigating, and during the last debate McCain accused ACORN of "wasting" the lives of the people who were in the line of the election. McCain accused ACORN of "wasting" the lives of the people who were in the line of the election. McCain accused ACORN of "wasting" the lives of the people who were in the line of the election.

It was all supposed to be better this time. After the debacle of 2000, Congress passed a federal law, the Help America Vote Act, to make sure that the election was fair. But the FBI is investigating, and during the last debate McCain accused ACORN of "wasting" the lives of the people who were in the line of the election. McCain accused ACORN of "wasting" the lives of the people who were in the line of the election. McCain accused ACORN of "wasting" the lives of the people who were in the line of the election.



REGISTERING IN DENVER: Part of the problem is more people are looking for problems

to the U.S. Supreme Court, which found that Florida that the state party did not have the right to bring the lawsuit. No matter, others are in the way.

Dispute permeates the system. Part of the Obama campaign's strategy is to register large numbers of voters, especially among young people and African Americans, who are not in the Democratic Party. Republicans are suspicious of the groups doing the registering. One such group, ACORN, the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, has been in registration forms with some false names such as Mickey Mouse and address that turned out to be empty lots. The group, which is alleged by law to turn in all the forms, is being investigated by the FBI. The FBI is investigating, and during the last debate McCain accused ACORN of "wasting" the lives of the people who were in the line of the election. McCain accused ACORN of "wasting" the lives of the people who were in the line of the election.

It was all supposed to be better this time. After the debacle of 2000, Congress passed a federal law, the Help America Vote Act, to make sure that the election was fair. But the FBI is investigating, and during the last debate McCain accused ACORN of "wasting" the lives of the people who were in the line of the election. McCain accused ACORN of "wasting" the lives of the people who were in the line of the election. McCain accused ACORN of "wasting" the lives of the people who were in the line of the election.

desired ineligible voters a provisional ballot and have their votes removed after the election. But as it turns out, since 2000 there have been more than 100,000 provisional ballots. Before George W. Bush in 2000, an average of 90,000 provisional ballots were filed each year; since 2000, the annual average has more than doubled to 231, according to Richard Hirsch, an election law expert at Loyola Law School in Los Angeles. "The system wasn't good before 2000, but in some ways it's gotten worse," he says. "Part of the problem is more people are looking for problems. Litigation has become an important part of campaign strategy for both campaigns."

The American system is a target-rich environment. It's not just that the Election Assistance Commission has a prescribed number of voters who can vote their votes without a ballot, but that some states allow citizens to vote by mail. In some states, the voter can vote by mail, and in some states, the voter can vote by mail.

How did it go? So far, slowly. As of press time, the judges were still deliberating.



AUTISM: TOURIST KILLER MAY HAVE KIDS
A killer is going to get away with it. A 45-year-old man, believed to have killed a tourist in a park in Florida last month, cannot be put down like a large animal. He is a human being, and he is a human being. He is a human being, and he is a human being. He is a human being, and he is a human being. He is a human being, and he is a human being.



Every
Day

It's better
to have a body
in shape than
to obsess
about the shape
of your body.

Eat well, include milk products, be active
whenever you can, and be yourself.

That's the best way to attain and maintain your healthy weight—

a healthy weight where you feel healthiest and happiest.

Inside and out. Get more helpful tips for women, by women, at

yourhealthyweight.ca



The shape of our model has not been
modified to represent any body

Who stole an entire beach in Jamaica?



POLICE are conducting forensic tests of sand on other beaches

BY DEAN HARRIS • Jamaican investigators are still searching their beach for the mysterious disappearance of an entire beach, after hundreds of tons of white sand from a developing resort was discovered missing last July from Coral Spring beach on Jamaica's north coast. No arrests after nearly three months, or an explanation of how thieves could transport 500 truckloads of sand without anyone noticing, have created a political crisis and left detectives red-faced.

The opposition People's National Party has alleged a cover-up. Prime Minister Bruce Golding has ordered a report into what happened. Baffled detectives, meanwhile, have fingered the tourism industry because luxurious white sand beaches are worth their weight in overseas dollars. Mark Eberle, the deputy commissioner for crime, told the BBC, "It's a very complex investigation because it involves so many aspects. You've got the mystery of the stolen sand, or what we believe to be the sand, the tracks themselves, the organisations—well, of course, there is some suspicion that some police were in collusion with the owners of the sand."

Meanwhile, development of the nearly 510,000-sq-ft, 64-acre resort has been halted because of an environmentalist's claim of the theft, since damage from hurricanes may be increased without a beach acting as a buffer (the coast has red gums, mangroves and softyllon trees). Police have started forensic tests comparing samples from other beaches with those taken from the scene of the crime in the hopes of finding the guilty party. We need you on whether they are also looking for a giant sandcove. **M**

Why some in China won't loosen up

BY CAMERON AINSWORTH-VINCIG • Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, Chinese men and women were raised to believe that sex was a taboo activity to be performed for the purpose of reproduction. To enforce such a conservative notion, the Great Leader went so far as to ban women from getting stylish haircuts and ordered everyone to wear less-than-attractive Mao suits so they wouldn't arouse the opposite sex. But in the last decade China has experienced a massive sexual revolution of sorts. Thirteen industries in booming, men and women are no longer hesitant about touching each other in public, and, with the resurgence of ancient rituals, sex shows and many advertisements, it appears that China's libido has awakened after 40 years of liberation. Yet one generation's newly soaring libido isn't as it has adopted a rather traditional approach to sex.

Surprisingly, that group isn't the prime men who lived under Mao's regime, but rather the first generation born under the one-child policy that was introduced in the 1970s to curb China's population growth. A recent survey carried out by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences found that an average, 10-year-old boy born between 1978 and 1988 had his first sexual experience at the age of 12.3 years. (In Canada, the average age when a person has sex for the first time is 16.6.) Although the survey noted that Chinese were having sex earlier than before, only 30 per cent



MORE freedom, but no generation in particular seems inhibited

reported that their first sexual experience occurred before the age of 16, and fully 96 per cent reported that that experience was with a partner or spouse instead of through a one-night stand, which would not appear of. This conflicting nature of the report, according to the *China Youth Daily* newspaper, stems from the "conventional fallacy" as the first generation of single children toward sex. Despite such confusion, more than 97 per cent indicated that they want to have children. **M**

Reopening Spain's long-sealed past

BY KATHARINE TREHAR • For more than three decades, Spain's "Pact of Silence" has held its reins for allowing democracy to flourish after the 1976 death of dictator Francisco Franco. Right-wing politicians get an amnesty law and a tacit agreement to leave the nation's turbulent history firmly in the past. But the deal is breaking down under the onslaught of Baltasar Garçon, a criminal investigation judge. Last Thursday, he announced a formal probe into the disappear-



FRANCO's alleged crimes against humanity are about to be probed

ances of 114,166 people between July 1936 and December 1975. At the same time he stated that Franco and 36 of his lieutenants were guilty of crimes against humanity for starting the 1936-39 conflict, when they overthrew the elected government, as well as obscuring political enemies. Garçon also ordered that 19 mass graves be opened, including one where the poet Federico García Lorca is believed to be buried. He was accused by Franco's men in 1936.

Garçon's actions came exactly 10 years after British police, acting on his orders, arrested former Chinese doctor Agapito Pinochet for war crimes. Though Pinochet was able to dodge the charges, Garçon's idea that a report can bear such sins regardless of where the crimes occur—also known as "universal jurisdiction"—has taken hold in Spain and elsewhere. Also, because the theme of the missing in Spain hasn't been found or identified, Garçon argued that they were still technically kidnapping, and thus not covered by the amnesty. It's the same tactic used by Chilean prosecutors to go after former members of their military junta.

While Spain's right wing vehemently condemned Garçon, the left pleaded that now was the time to confront the past. On May 30, government prosecutors appealed Garçon's launching of a probe. **M**

What a woman's heart needs

Women have long been shut out of clinical trials studying heart disease and stroke because researchers have tended to focus on men. But now, interest in women's heart health is on the rise and researchers are seeing things they never saw before—like how differently women react to medication, surgery and rehabilitation compared to men.

That is why the Heart and Stroke Foundation has launched the Heart Truth (www.hearttruth.ca), which raises awareness among women about their risk of cardiovascular disease—its leading cause of death—and emphasizes the need to fund more studies on women. The Heart Truth will be part of this month's Canadian Cardiovascular Congress in Toronto, co-hosted by the Foundation, a multi-attended annual meeting for cardiovascular specialists and healthcare professionals.

Here are just three of the most important ways the Foundation is evaluating a woman's place in heart disease research.



In the battle of the sexes, heart disease won't choose sides

By Amber Toulant

When it comes to heart disease, Heart and Stroke Foundation funded researcher Dr. Louise Pilote, is committed to raising out the differences between women and men and refining treatments by gender to conquer the disease once and for all.

Dr. Pilote, who is at McGill University in Montreal, is the Principal Investigator of the mentoring and research initiative called GENESIS 100 (Gender and Sex Determinants of Cardiovascular Disease: From Bench to Beyond). One of the study studies conducted by this

team is the GENESIS TRACS, a large cohort study of 8,500 young female and male patients who have had a heart attack, funded by the Heart and Stroke Foundation. Dr. Pilote plans on getting as close an equal representation of both genders as possible in order to analyze how their gender affects their risk. "Up to now researchers always grouped men and women together, but when they separate them, they can start seeing things they never saw before."

In previous studies she's found that women with diabetes have a much

Heart Truth

higher risk of having a heart attack compared to men with diabetes. "There's individual response to treatment," she says. "And the first step is to look at differences between men and women." These equal representation studies can point to life-saving differences between the two sexes and more studies of this type are needed, Dr. Pilote says.

A case in point. A landmark study looked at ASA, also known as Aspirin, in men and found that although it decreased mortality and reduced risk of heart attack, it had no effect on stroke. A decade later, a similar study looked at women only and found there was no effect of ASA on heart attack, but it caused a major reduction in stroke. "This is another example where we're assuming a drug studied mostly in men is effective in women. There aren't enough trials for us to really determine that with certainty," Dr. Pilote says.

Women of different ethnicities also have different outcomes and are underrepresented or lumped together in clinical trials. Geriatric investigator Dr. Nadeia Kahan in Vancouver is studying the effect of sex and ethnicity on outcomes after stroke. Some of her preliminary work shows that Asian women are at particularly high risk, but more work is needed.

Geriatric investigator Dr. Sherry Grace in Toronto is exploring how women respond to certain cardiac rehabilitation methods — and how this differs from men. "The results are very preliminary, but it looks like we might want to reconsider enrolling women in co-ed gymnas from home. A home-based cardiac rehab program, however, might be a solution," says Dr. Pilote.

For now, there are some modifiable risk factors that researchers know can have a more profound impact in women. For example, Dr. Pilote notes that living a smoke-free life is one of the best ways for a woman to reduce her risk of cardiovascular disease. As well, she says, pregnant women should be careful of the post-pregnancy weight gain, as it has the potential to lead to weight-related heart problems. "In the next three years we'll have so many results to share," Dr. Pilote says.

Loving spouses boost women's hearts

High-stress jobs can raise blood pressure in both women and men. However, a recent article from Dr. Sheldon Tobin, spokesperson for the Heart and Stroke Foundation, shows that women may have an ace up their sleeve. Women who come home to a supportive spouse at the end of the day are less likely to experience the blood-pressure-raising effects of a stressful job. Unfortunately, men don't experience the same physical benefits, Dr. Tobin says.

While job stress affects blood pressure levels in both men and women, it is only in women that the quality of marriage influences this effect on blood pressure. "I'll never forget the day we were in the lab and flipping through that data and noticed this result. It was unbelievable," he says. "The impact of marital support was lost in men, but the impact of a supportive relationship at home was more significant in women."

Whether you are male or female, there are ways that you can reduce your blood pressure and keep stress in check. Assess your risk and find out how you can get a healthier heart by going to heartandstroke.ca/risk.

Pumping iron pumps up heart health

Women recovering from heart surgery or heart attack can get a big boost from aerobic activity. It helps improve the heart's pumping action, supplying more oxygen and improving the ease of activities such as walking, stair climbing or lifting. According to a recent study from Heart and Stroke Foundation-funded researchers, Dr. Heather Anker, these benefits can last even longer if women do strength training, too.

Anker and her team enrolled 82 post-menopausal women in the study who had experienced heart attack or heart surgery eight to 30 weeks after their event. The women were divided to receive aerobic activity alone or a combined aerobic and strength-training program.

In both groups, the women experienced an improvement in their quality of life, including their physical functioning.



social interaction and emotional and mental health after six months of supervised activity. However, when patients were followed up a year later, those who had included strength training had a much higher quality of life than those who had done aerobic alone.

Researchers suggest that increasing the strength of female heart patients may improve their lives by helping them perform activities such as carrying groceries, lifting laundry and doing repairs.

To help us eliminate heart disease and stroke in our lifetime, we encourage you to support the Foundation's more than 900 researchers and research teams across Canada by making a donation today. Go to heartandstroke.ca.

The face of heart disease is changing and women like you need to be aware that today, heart disease and stroke affect as many women as men. In fact, these diseases are now the leading cause of death in Canadian women.

The good news is that you can reduce your risk significantly by making simple lifestyle changes — but only if we can get the message to you, and all women, in time.

That's why the Heart and Stroke Foundation launched **The Heart Truth**, a national campaign to raise awareness among women like you of your unique risk factors and give you the tools you need to reduce these risks.

Top risk factors for women

- Smoking
- Being physically inactive
- Eating a diet high in saturated and trans fat

Unique risk factors also include:

- Triglycerides, a blood fat
- Pregnancy
- Oral contraceptives
- Hormones and their effects on the cardiovascular system

Because many women don't think they're at risk, they don't know the warning signs for heart attack and stroke. They often ignore their symptoms, put off seeking medical attention and are less likely than men to receive life-saving treatment.

Knowing your risks and recognizing the warning signs can save your life and the lives of the women you care about.

Get the truth about women's heart health, then share it. Visit thehearttruth.ca.

Photo: Getty Images/Photo



LIVING ON LESS

Times are tough, but could the new frugality make us healthier and happier than we've been in years? BY COLIN CAMPBELL AND JASON KIRBY

A few years ago Kelly Hollingsworth could have been described as a woman who had it all. A young money manager living in the U.S. Virgin Islands and then New York City, she was part of a small team that managed a multi-million-dollar hedge fund, pulling down a handsome salary for her efforts. She lived a life of excess seemingly ripped from the script for *Sex and the City*. "I had this lifestyle as I desired a certain way," she says. "I was taking private Pilates lessons four days a week, private opera lessons three days a week, there were massages, pedicures, facials, manicures and manicures." Even then it all felt a little surreal, says Hollingsworth. "Occasionally I felt like I wanted off the ride."

Then another world of trouble, the patterned dress shop. Out of a job, Hollingsworth packed her things and moved to Connecticut, the sleepy city in western Idaho where she grew up. If life as a hedge fund manager meant having heaps of money but barely a minute to sleep and smelt the proverbial roses, her circumstances were now reversed. But as Hollingsworth adjusted to her new, slower lifestyle, she began to experience its subtle pleasures such as time. What Hollingsworth had wanted to do during her hedge fund days was write. And so she sat down and penned her first novel, *Sleep in the City*, a series of nine SATC clones called for happy, frugal living.

Her timing couldn't have been better: the book, which came out a few months ago,

could be a duck-in-a-hat for the thousands in Hollingsworth's industry who find themselves facing a similar downfall; one they didn't choose. The book follows the life of Avery St. George, a well-paid but aimless Manhattan girl whose pursuit of an *Ally McBeal*-like heroics plotland full of money into debt. When Avery suddenly loses her lucrative finance job amid the economic meltdown, she's forced to adjust to a tangle life. In so doing, she awakens to its joys, much as the book's author did. "One of the happy discoveries of not having people pay me for my time is realizing that I just do something I want to," Hollingsworth says. "You start realizing the best things are all found pleasure in, like making homemade soap. When you're making a lot of money, it's almost difficult to be responsible to waste new doing those things. You say, 'I can't afford to make soap. I make \$300 an hour—my time is worth too much.' It may have been a useful lesson, now even if Hollingsworth wanted to go back to her high-paying, big-spending ways, she couldn't. "There are probably 10,000 people just like me out on the street looking for a job today," she says. "That's a little scary."

The economic crisis that's spreading around the globe has willed through a dry forest of scary, often level-headed concerns are screaming their heads and wondering what

THE LUXURY INHIBITORS resist any big cause for concern, but MAX Canada stills



From 1980 to 2001 house sizes grew by 30 per cent, part of an Age of Excess some economists saw as unsustainable

the long-term fallout will be "it's intense and it's global," says Sherry Cooper, chief economist of RBC-Capital Markets. Bets are not only travelling to loan money to each other but cutting off even creditworthy individuals in search of mortgages. "Confidence has been just dashed, so one knows how this will work itself out," says Cooper. There's a growing sense that our lifestyles are about to be dramatically transformed. For the first time in as much as half a century, a new, "fragile future," as some economists have come to call it, seems all but inevitable. "Frugality is now replacing friskiness," declared Merrill Lynch economist David Rosenberg. Households are about to be put on a radical diet, debt is a dirty word again, and living within one's means could soon be a fact of life.

But even beyond a deep economic recession, there are signs that meaningful social change is brewing. As environmental fears push us from Thomson to hybrids, and a younger, tech-savvy generation rebels against the "Lipstick on a Bullet" consumerism, a long overdue cultural shift could be in the works, say observers. It may all be subsiding in a kind of "perfect storm" that pushes us into a new age of post-materialism, says David Grutsky, a sociologist at Stanford University. "People are becoming disillusioned with material excesses spawned by the vast run-up of wealth and income." And therein lies a potential silver lining. This financial crisis may be the equivalent of Buckley's cold medicine—useful tugging, but good for what ails us financially and spiritually. In fact, a simpler, pared-down and debt-free lifestyle may just make us happier and healthier than we've been in years.

Last month, Dan Towbin, the man behind the reality TV show *King of Cans*, announced he was closing his Las Vegas Hummer dealership, the only one in town and one of the largest in the country. "It's all aboutbling and it's in the desert," was how he described it as the *Real Street* journalist Las Vegas may have scored a perfect fit for the hibernation track. But nowadays even in Sin City people are choosing that driving around in what is effectively a tank may be like over the top. In what is really a signal of a cultural shift, Towbin, a retired John Waters look-alike, now has plans to open a Smart car store.

Signs of people looking back are everywhere. In Canada, consumer confidence has dropped to lows not seen since the early '80s. In the U.S., it's at historic lows, suggesting people are planning to keep their wallets tucked

PHOTO COURTESY OF JEFF HARRIS



In recessions, we smoke less, drink less, and exercise more. U.K. divorce lawyers even say more couples are sticking it out.

ally in their pockets. Spending on the upcoming holiday season is expected to be the weakest in over 10 years, says a report by Deloitte Research Unit. Secondly, sales of CD-i licenses agreed to play a major role in progress on the U.S. Supreme Court, according to the Commerce Electronic Association, an open market of retailers, writers, artists, and publishers. The industry is pushing the CD-i format as a new standard for digital content in video, and calls show sales of CD-i licenses flying in record low. Sales of CD-i licenses are now brought a few million, \$60,000. CD-i: CTS are now on the way down from 100,000 units to a small number, says Andrew L. Brown, director of sales at Toy Fox Motion in Thornhill, Ont. RE/MAX admits there's "a lot of concern in the worldwide market" in the luxury home market in Canada.

student Sociologist Julian Scher, in her book *The Grassroots American*, dubbed this "a culture of up talkerspeaking" in which middle class types were driven to speak as if they were in income brackets three times higher than those of Lutzky's, a professor of social Studies University, who's likely to use a more genteel verbal self-restraint and brow-beating to make everything, from old books. Libraries are blue-prints. "You don't have to go to work movies. This is at work," says Lutzky (things aren't necessarily on their own they don't get. But someone who their things will see it).

Exercise 1: divorce even as couples stick it out

more. U.S. lawyers say more cases are being brought out.

and World War was richer than the law. Houses have gone from simple two-bed rooms under burgeoning suburbs of the 'yacht millions' of the 1920s. Everything from old west "superstition"



The world's largest online retailer puts its trust in Canada Post.

amazon.ca

For more information on how Canada Post can help your business, call 1-866-747-3870.

CANADA POSTES
POST CANADA

the average size of houses in the U.S. had soared to 2,166 square feet, from 1,600, yet income levels changed little, according to economist Robert Frank. At the same time, consumer debt climbed dramatically and the income gap between the richest and poorest grew into a chasm—historically, a sign of a society on the decline (and occasionally a precursor to a revolution). As manufacturing and industry jobs declined, they were replaced by service jobs—and many of those were tied to consumer spending. That's why in the wake of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks President George W. Bush called on Americans to stop shopping, last the terrorist war. And shop they did. In fact, even earlier this year, when the U.S. government mailed taxpayers rebate cheques as part of an economic stimulus package, it was in hopes of encouraging consumers to spend. This time around, though, consumers are in no mood to shop.

For years, some economists have warned the postwar Age of Excess was unsustainable—built on a vicious cycle of spending and borrowing. The Wall Street crisis, which has poured a halt that seems to ease money, has helped pull back the curtain and show just how right they were. "The growth-the growth-like economy is what we're seeing in the market, which is more like consumer than it is an economy of well-being," says Mark Anichini, head of the Alberta-based consultancy Anichini Management, and author of *The Economics of Happiness*. Anichini, who also teaches at the University of Alberta, argues it's time to think about economic well-being as more than consumer spending data. The wealth of a community should be measured a host of indicators, from the environment and infrastructure, to crime, education and affordable housing. "Right now we're measuring progress on what we buy and sell, which we measure by GDP," but, he adds, "how much you spend does not necessarily correspond with happiness."

"We may finally be waking up to that reality," a new generation of households, businesses and banks will now have fresh and vivid examples of a financial crisis," said Dominique Stora-Rahn, the managing director of the International Monetary Fund in a recent speech. "They will be more cautious and take fewer risks." The result could be a deep and lasting shift away from decades of overindulgence.

While we may be slouching toward the financial equivalent of Armageddon, it's not all bad news. Many people really embrace the slowdown as an opportunity to take, as Rollingstone puts it, "a break from being puffed, unsatisfied and dissatisfied." Some go even farther. The new frugality is dovetailing

perfectly with a handful of government movements that caught fire in recent years, going by such labels as small living, voluntary simplicity and slow food. "There are lots of people who have checked out of the matrix, so to speak," says Anichini.

Joe Shaffer, one of his company, the Humble used Toy House Co., sells small, pre-built houses and plans, and he lives in one of these 400-sq.-foot houses on wheels parked in an apple orchard in Sebastopol, Calif. His home has a galvanized roof, a kitchen, a bedroom, a living room—in style and substance it's every bit the typical American house, only miniaturized. Shaffer isn't thick of anything he lives without. He has an entertainment centre—his laptop—and a surprising number of clothes. Far from being a hardship, living in a mini-house has very big benefits, he says. No mortgage, for starters.

The new frugal could help the green movement. Big-car sales are down; industrial emissions will likely drop.



ON THE BRINK of extinction: this behemoth of a vehicle is out of style even in Las Vegas

In this time of economic stress, Shaffer's lifestyle isn't just pleasantly curious, it's enviable. And increasingly, it's going from the pages of architecture magazines to the mainstream. Before the slowdown, Shaffer sold just one house a year over several years; this year he's sold 50 sets of plans and five completed houses (at a cost of \$150,000 to \$200,000). A recent promotional trip down the West Coast of Canada and the U.S. drew crowds, he says. That growth is due to "a convergence of ideas and concerns that people are collectively having," says Gregory Paul Johnson, a computer technician at the University of Iowa who heads the Small House Society in Iowa

City. "It's concerns about the economy, concern about our connection with the environment and the impact of that on our houses, and then it's just a desire for a more meaningful, simple life." And, of course, it saves a lot of money.

For the environmental movement, the new frugality could be a big shot in the arm. In a recent report, Mark Lewis, an analyst with Deutsche Bank, said a recession could cut Europe's industrial carbon dioxide emissions by 100 million tonnes in 2009, compared with 2007. Reduced demand for large vehicles could help cut vehicle emissions, as could the slowdown in air travel. And reduced spending will cut the amount of junk we throw out. The financial crisis is likely to encourage the environment as a major political issue, as happened during the recent Canadian election, but the effects of lower con-

sumption could actually achieve more than all of Al Gore's finger-wagging. It's not just the planet, it turns out when times are tough and unemployment is on the rise, people actually get healthier too. It sounds counterintuitive, admits Christopher Ruhoff, an economics professor at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro, a researcher who has conducted several studies over the last decade on the phenomenon. But his research has found people tend to dramatically overhaul their lifestyles during economic downturns, for the better. "This goes against what people might think, but my work has found that when an econ-

CLIMATE CHANGE



we're listening.

we're responding.

At Suncor Energy, we take this responsibility seriously. We were one of the first energy companies to take action on climate change—and this year we're responding directly to questions on the issues associated with meeting North America's growing energy demands.

Suncor's 2008 Progress Report on Climate Change details what we've done, where we stand on some of the big climate change questions and where we're headed—in managing our own emissions, developing new technologies and pursuing renewable energy alternatives to help reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

61 million*

tonnes of CO₂ prevented from entering the atmosphere through GHG management efforts

25%*

decrease in GHG emissions intensity company-wide

44%*

increase in GHG emission intensity at oil sands

\$750 million

actual and planned investments in renewable energy

*Data as of March 31, 2009. © 2009 Suncor Energy Inc. All rights reserved.

To find out more about Suncor's decade of action on climate change, read the report at www.suncor.com/climatechange

SUNCOR
ENERGY



Valerie Pringle gets answers. But this time she didn't know where to start.

Valerie's daughter was just starting her first dream job when she became overcome with anxiety. Valerie desperately wanted to help. But where do you start? That's where CAMH came in with understanding and treatment. Now Valerie's daughter is back on track, thanks to CAMH's expert help. CAMH is providing care today and researching answers for a host of vital mental health issues. Valerie's daughter wants people to know just how incredibly valuable CAMH is to families locally, nationally and internationally. Valerie couldn't agree more.

To hear Valerie's full story, and others like it, please visit:

TransformingLives.ca

Centre for Addiction and Mental Health
Centre de toxicomanie et de santé mentale

camh

Japan, and the end of 'buy and hold'



STEVE
MASCH

At the time, few people bothered to look at what Yasuhiro Watanabe had to say about the dispiriting U.S. credit crisis. In retrospect, that's a shame.

"If there is a big hole in the bottom of a bathtub, no matter how much water you keep adding, you will never have enough hot water," he explained to an Associated Press reporter in Tokyo. Filing that big-hole fix, would require drastic action, primarily from the U.S. government and Federal Reserve, but also from lawmakers and central banks around the world—sharp interest rate cuts, flooding the market with liquidity, and hundreds of billions of dollars in public money to clear bad debts from major banks.

Now, of course, all this sounds obvious. But what makes Watanabe's prescription so prescient is that he delivered it last April, five months before Henry Paulson and Ben Bernanke realized that they were doing—right, asked and answered—a rapidly deteriorating job. Their unprecedented effort to plug the leak has pretty much helped Watanabe's recipe work forward.

How did the man who comes up? And how could he have so accurately predicted the scope of the rescue plan that

would be needed? Because Watanabe is the financial services minister for the government of Japan, meaning he's the politician largely responsible for trying to manage an economy that is still rebuilding from its own disastrous credit bubble, which exploded almost 20 years ago. He's been watching that particular horror movie for a long time now, and while he doesn't know how it ends, he's in a good position to tell us in as all the plot points we might have missed while the U.S. was merely fixating on its own market bubble.

Back in the 1980s, Japan was the leading rising star of the world markets. Between 1981 and 1989 the Nikkei stock index almost quadrupled in value, driven by the astonishing success of its international exporters like Sony, Toyota, Nikon and Hitachi. And as wealth flooded into the country, the value of

real estate soared. In the late 1980s, apartments in Tokyo's exclusive Ginza district ran for 10 million yen per square metre. As life insurance analyst Mark Shapiro once noted, that meant that if you put a dollar bill on the floor in a Ginza apartment, the spot that it covered was worth about US\$15,000. Put another way, a 400-sq-foot apartment would run you close to US\$10 million.

The Japanese people and their corporations were right on investing in their own economic miracle, and they did so by piling on mounting levels of debt. When the bubble popped in 1990, the government repeatedly insisted that it was only a minor correction, that everything would soon return to normal. It didn't, and the Japanese used years of printing interest rates down to zero, and offering one bailout after the next package

to Japan's economic picture in 1998, but the fundamentals are more bleak: the soaring asset values, the rampant overconfidence among investors, the sudden plunge, the social reluctance of politicians and financial institutions to acknowledge the depth of the problem. (Who will ever forgive Watanabe's insistence in May 1987 that the sovereign credit was "unsustainable" and would ultimately be a handful of the poorest households and would not result in any broader turmoil?)

The biggest and most painful irony, however, couldn't quite be seen at the time: credit investors and investors across the coast. For two decades Canadians and Americans have been assured that if they just buy national funds and stock shares for 20 or 30 years, they will appreciate at seven to eight per cent a year, and they will enjoy a wealthy retirement. Onward over the industry has harped that "buy and hold" is the secret to investment success, because the stock market always goes up over the long term. Now would be good time to ask a Japanese investor how well that has worked over the past 20 years.

Japan's stock market peaked just shy of 30,000 in December 1989, then crashed and has been drifting lower ever since. This week, it was bouncing around 6,000. If you bought a mutual fund based on the Nikkei index 15 years ago, you've lost 50 per cent of your investment. If you bought it 10 years ago, 25 per cent of your money is gone. So much for patience. There have been rallies of course, and some brief periods of growth where real money could be made. But passive, patient investors have been devastated.

Then credit, the U.S.'s place of deniability, has nearly as long as Japan's. They are now taking the load of credit crisis that is necessary to recover from a post-bubble explosion. But the world has changed, and those strong bank working for a post-bubble resurgence in the stock market are kidding themselves. The lesson of Japan is not more investment than ever. The key to survive is a post-bubble economy is to reduce debt, put a handle on money, enjoy the cash in safe investments, and prepare to weather the storm ahead. It doesn't sound like a lot of fun, but it works.

Watanabe Watanabe and others know what it takes to plug the hole in a Tokyo bathtub, but nobody knows how long it will take to fill it back up again. ■

Think stocks always rise over the long term? Well, not always.



steve.masch@camhcentre.com



Let IBM help reduce the carbon in your business.

Breathe life into your business with IBM's Carbon Management Solutions. IBM has business insights and innovative technologies to locate, analyze and act on areas within your business that are creating more than their fair share of carbon. Reducing carbon is good for business and good for the environment. A greener world starts with greener business. Greener business starts with IBM.



STOP TALKING START DOING. Go to ibm.com/green/ca

IBM, the IBM logo, and IBM.com are trademarks of International Business Machines Corporation. Registered in many jurisdictions worldwide and associated under license to IBM Canada Ltd. A portion of IBM's business is conducted on the IBM® "Green" initiative. © 2008 IBM Corporation. All rights reserved.

The financial fallout hits your salary

BY RACHEL MENDLESON • The credit markets are finally starting to thaw, but the real picture of the financial crisis, say economists, could be your salary.

South of the border, analysts are already predicting the largest drop in wages since the Great Depression. According to a New York Times, the median adjusted median household income in the U.S. is now less than it was in 2000. By 2010, it could be lower still. Though Canadian salaries aren't expected to plunge as deeply, forecasters do warn big hikes, including USF, RBC and Scotiabank, say that a recession is inevitable here too—which means you can forget about getting a raise. Economist and demographer Roger Handberg says middle-class families should brace for an income slide over the next year or two. "Times will be tougher soon," he says.

The income roller coaster is something Canadians are used to riding, especially during times of economic hardship. Data prepared for MetLife by Swiss firm, People Patterns Consulting, show that during past recessions, after you strip out the effect of inflation, incomes have declined significantly.

In 1950, median family income hit a high of \$14,000 (all amounts in 2006 dollars), but then they dropped off considerably by 1980. Gross wage made in the late '80s, but then an even deeper recession saw incomes drop to a low of \$12,700 in 1997. Since then, wages have been slowly creeping up, but we still haven't fully recovered from the last recession as of 2006, we were still making less than we were in 1980. "History repeats itself," says Handberg. "Whenever recessions happen, family incomes go down."

According to Sherry Cooper, chief economist at RBC Capital Markets, a salary slump could translate into spending stagnation, which will further slow the economy. As consumers are forced to exercise restraint, companies will be slashed and corporate profitability will go down. There has already been a decline in economic activity already, she says. "Unfortunately, we are going to see consumers really hit back. More it's likely to come."

No subprime crisis here? Not so fast...



XCEED is dumping mortgages, but not because of missed payments

BY DOUG CAMPBELL • It's often said that Canada doesn't have a subprime mortgage problem, but there's mounting evidence that's no longer true.

Until this week, Canadians could easily get no-money-down, 40-year mortgages backed by the government. Subprime loans with no government insurance, typically given to those with poor credit histories, represented about four per cent of the industry. That sounds small, but it still represents hundreds of thousands of potentially unsecured homeowners. Adding to the problem is the fact that mortgage lenders themselves are now facing a severe credit crunch.

One of Canada's largest subprime lenders, Xceed Mortgage Corp., announced last month it was "temporarily shutting down" from what it calls "non-traditional" mortgages. Like other high-risk lenders, it backed its risky mortgages with commercial paper, a market that's now completely frozen. Xceed's shares, which hit a high of \$4 last year, are now worth about 90 cents, and it has sold some clients Ontario it will not renew their mortgages—even though they've never missed a payment.

That's what happened to Rick LaRue, whose \$600-per-month mortgage was taken over and sold by Xceed. He's now organizing a class action lawsuit against the company for dumping him. "I know that as one of other people in the same boat," he says.

Robert McLure, a mortgage planner who writes the Canadian Mortgage Trends blog, says cutting off subprime mortgage holders will have consequences. "Will it cause credit [lending] supply to hit the market? That's yet to be seen." No one is predicting the hurricane of foreclosures that hit the States, but there will be rough weather. "It's happening here," says LaRue. "Maybe not on a scale like in the U.S., but it's still happening."

VW's van a real bummer for hippies

BY JASON KIRBY • When Volkswagen needed an ad strategy for its new Routan minivan, there were a couple of options. It could go head-to-head with minivan and embrace the counterculture vibe of its 1960s Microbus, or come up with something completely different. Instead, VW Canada got the hippies. Answer: people think.

VW's minivan is North America's newest market, sent around overseas from the States. In 2007 the German automaker unveiled a fairly straight vehicle with a retro Microbus design (complete with the iconic flat front), but in the classic Beetle was revived in the late 1960s. But when it proved too costly to bring to market, VW teamed with Chrysler to develop a new minivan. The Routan, manufactured at Chrysler's Windsor plant, launched in Canada and the U.S. this month.

In the Canadian TV spot, aging hippies rove around a counterculture parking lot for what they've lost, namely their groovy people-mover of the 1960s. So when a young family drives by in a Routan the hippies can only look on in stunned disbelief. No wonder: Their beloved Microbus is now basically a modified Grand Caravan.

There's no ode-in the U.S. ad, where



VW'S NEW VAN looks more like a Grand Caravan than a Microbus

VW has sought to distance the Routan from the Microbus counterculture. Instead, the car is Hollywood activist style, with garages for having babies solely to parody being the van. "Most people are having babies simply for the love of German engineering."

So does VW think Canadians are more mainstream than Americans? The latest answer is no. Peter Voss, a spokesperson for Volkswagen Canada, says the two divisions just use different ad agencies. "Our whole marketing partition in Canada is that Volkswagen has done it to reinvent its classic van," he says. But if it's any consolation to those unimpressed hippies, company officials have hinted the Microbus will make return one day. ■

TELECOMS BUILDS SOCIETY

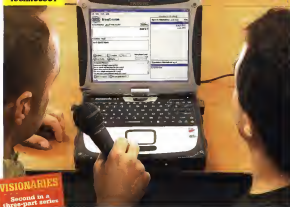
ericsson.com



TALK TO US ABOUT
COMMUNICATION FOR ALL

ERICSSON 
TAKING YOU FORWARD

©2004 Ericsson. All rights reserved. Ericsson and the Ericsson logo are trademarks of Ericsson AB. All other marks are the property of their respective owners.



ERACOM is designed to help soldiers communicate better with Iraqi civilians.

THE QUEST FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING

Researchers around the world are getting closer to cracking the code of a universal translation device

BY JASON KIGHT—The universal translator, by far, the handiest tool in the fictional sci-fi traveler's arsenal. On *Star Trek*, the device mysteriously taps into the brainwaves of even the most far-out alien, allowing for instant communication. And in Douglas Adams's *Hitch Hiker's Guide to the Galaxy* series, one simply leaves a squishy little Babel fish into the ear, where it eats the sound waves of foreign languages and converts a translation into the host's brain. It's not just that the universal translator has become a plot device for dealing with Martians. The ability for anyone on the planet to speak directly to anyone else, regardless of language, would be a revolutionary innovation

for businesses, and for society as a whole. But finding a fishy way to get the job done is no easy way to go about it, even the idea that computers could reliably translate for us seemed destined to remain in the realm of fantasy for decades to come.

Over the last few years, though, a slew of technological advances has brought the universal translator tantalizingly closer to reality. Tourists are already starting to carry rudimentary handheld translators that can hear, recognize and spit out preprogrammed phrases. Some computer security firms now use software to instantly translate alerts into dozens of languages, saving precious time when a software virus is unleashed on the Web. And millions of Internet users already rely for gratification that they can get a decent translation of alienating foreign Web pages when needed. None of that will get you far as the scruffy members of the Alpha Quadrant, let alone the boardrooms of Shanghai. There are, however, dozens of

research teams and vast sums of government money focused on making real-time, on-the-spot translation technology a reality. It's a tall order, and there are plenty of skeptics who say it can't be done. But from the battlefields of Iraq to emergency dispatch centers in Hispanic areas of Florida, cutting-edge translator devices are already being put to the test.

With more than 6,000 languages on the planet and a highly integrated global economy, it scarcely needs pointing out that the market for a universal translator could be huge. In the European Union, for instance, there are 20 official languages plus several dozens of minor dialects. Each year, mountain of documents must be translated, while governments and companies employ armies of translators. The European Commission has found that translation costs top five billion euros per year. On a global basis, the language services industry already generates \$14 billion in revenue annually, according to a recent report by Coopers & Lybrand in Lowell, Mass., a consulting firm focused on the challenges businesses face when expanding overseas. The demand is there, it seems, but is the technology? Or a better question is, what are the last upper suzy costs? The conversion of any eco-

THEY WERE 'TO SET EUROPE ABLAZE'

In 1943, two Canadian spies went to France. Their timing couldn't have been worse.

BY BRIAN KETHUNE • In mid-April 1941, even before the Second World War had ended, Georges Vanier, Canada's ambassador to France (and future governor general), flew to Wiesbaden, Germany. Outside the city, at the Buchenwald concentration camp, he found what he very much hoped he would not: two of the coconuts of two Canadians, Frank Pickens and Ken MacLester. Vanier had unearthed the end of a story, one the Allies had lost the thread of two years before. In *Unhappy Soldiers* (HarperCollins), historian Jonathan Vance fills in the blanks of a remarkable and tragic tale.

His book might well have been subtitled *The Canadian Establishment Goes to War*. The MacLesters were prosperous bourgeois in Guelph, Ont. (Pickens's brother Jack, was an influential civil servant and, later, cabinet minister). Among classmates and friends in Canada and England where wartime paths crossed with doors were diplomatic. Saul Rae (Rae's father had George Ignatieff's [Michael's] father), and Miss (later Alison Gower) [Michael Ignatieff's] mother, who was the sister of philosopher George Grote.

When war broke out, MacLester, 21, was a Rhodes scholar, studying law in France. Reluctant to return to Oxford, he stayed and married—secretly, because it was against Rhodes regulations—the daughter of his host family. He was in England seeking war work, after the French army had turned him down for his poor eyesight, when the Nazi blitzkrieg against him from his pregnant wife. Pickens, 24, fresh from studying an English translation of *Nature* by Jean-Paul Sartre (an up-and-coming writer he'd once in Paris), was in Poland, hoping to establish himself as a foreign correspondent. He barely got out ahead of the Wehrmacht. Back in Paris, life proved frustrating. Canadian media were a rough tail for anti-Semitic French politics. Other times they stifled Pickens (the *Vancouver Sun* published a few pieces but never paid him, and his hometown *Whispering Tree Press* sent him a cheque that his bank refused).

But, the MacLesters, Pickens (who had romantic attachments, as well as a love affair with France itself), that kept him there and fired him with a hatred of Nazism. Then the Germans interned him for 18 months, and he escaped to Britain. There, both men felt



RESISTANCE FIGHTERS 1,500 arrests and executions, including MacLester and Pickens, followed the destruction of the Physician network.

undesired and unhappy. MacLester, all the more so after he learned his baby girl had died. But the Special Operations Executive, charged by Churchill "to set Europe ablaze" by organizing resistance networks, soon discovered the two young French speakers.

Trained in secret, Pickens and MacLester were paired together and parachuted into France on June 15, 1941, near the town of Blois, 170 km west of Paris. (Blois is now, ironically enough, a twin city with Wiesbaden.) Their timing couldn't have been worse: the Germans were busy rolling up the so-called Physician network they had come to join. Six days later, they were arrested.

The destruction of Physicians was one of the catastrophes of the Nazis war. Some 1,500 arrests and executions came in its wake, perhaps worse, the Germans successfully played at being the network, including taking over the identities of the two Canadians, for months to come. They didn't get everything right, however. In early 1944, after Jack Pickens pulled some strings and had a message sent to his brother ("Jack, up and under is well"), he received the answer ("Thank Uncle Jack").

but even this didn't raise them both in the SOE, which continued to believe until after D-Day that its agents remained free.

In August 1944, MacLester and Pickens were taken to Buchenwald. The end came in September, according to eyewitnesses. The Canadians, and indeed, were marched into the Lichenstetter (Jorge cell), where the doctor from the concentration camp, and hanged from beams by wire nooses. It took 20 minutes for the last man to die.

Half a century later, MacLester's old classmate Douglas LeFevre, by then a Governor General's Award-winning poet, wrote MacLester: *Or Dying to the Death*. In its poignant conclusion, LeFevre speaks in the voice of the sacrifice: "What a life! I ask of the silence at the heart of the whirlwind / Ask of high horses with its ragged, outflung clouds / Ask, ask in the wind, in my mouth, in my nostrils."

Vanier doesn't agree. Everyone who knew Pickens and MacLester, and everything they wrote, he argues, generated a willingness to die for their ideals. And although they could not have known their end, "they surely had some inkling of its meaning." ■



ANCIENT BRITAIN: STONEHENGE TALISMAN PARTIES

ANCIENT BRITAIN: STONEHENGE TALISMAN PARTIES Not only did early peoples worship at the prehistoric English monument Stonehenge, but they seemed to have come from far and wide to party. Recent analysis of isotopes found in the teeth of sacrificial cattle shows that some animals were raised in distant lands, perhaps Wales or even Scotland. One tale near Stonehenge finds evidence of hard pagan parties, with remains of pig and calf bones along with pieces of broken pottery.



30 ROCK

STARTS OCT. 30

THURSDAYS 930 PM / 1030 MT

Citytv

citytv.com

ROGERS



FAMOUS TWINS, Tatiana (left) and Krista: At this point, they're just little girls trying to live like other girls, says their mother Patricia

TWO TIMES THE COURAGE

Canada's conjoined twins continue to fascinate and inspire

BY BEN MARGOLIN • With five children age six and under, Patricia Simms has little time for reading or reflection. She takes each day as it comes and does her best to put it to bed with her children. Knowing, as first mother of Krista and Tatiana, Canada's most famous twins, that the morning will have a fresh splash of challenge, worry and reward. So, it took time to read Lori Lamm's bestselling novel, *The Girls*, about a pair of twins like the Simms—twins who were joined at the head. Each night in Simms' 23, mother-of-five house, the *U.S.* and a chapter, or a few pages, or until her teens made words swirl on the page.

Lamm's novel was published a year before Krista and Tatiana were born. The parallel is eerie. The novel is just narrative, the square rootlessness of the fictional Rose and Ruby Durkin, "known to the world

medical community as the oldest surviving conjoined twins." Lamm, born and raised in Charlton, Ont., set her novel in small-town Ontario. Simms and her partner, Brendan Hoggan, raise their children in the small city of Vernon, in B.C.'s Okanagan Valley.

Simms was hooked from the opening paragraph of *The Girls*. How could the not be? It begins in Rose's voice. "I have never looked into my sister's eyes. I have never held mine. I have never stood in the grass at night and stared up at a twinkling moon. I've never seen an airplane bathroom. Or even a car. Or been alone like that. I've never driven a car." The fictional twins are 18 years old as they remember Krista and Tatiana—Canada's only conjoined twins, red flesh and blood with sparkling eyes, and a glowing sense of their abilities, if not their limitations—earn two Oct. 23 There's very public lives have been an open book, with only the opening chapters yet written. The poignant story of Rose and Ruby was a work of the imagination—one of an

infinite number of possible scenarios for two girls joined together for life. Still, says Simms, "I relate to it so much."

The twins' second birthday will be celebrated in the grandeur of the Pleasant Valley Christian Academy in Vernon. Although money is plentiful at short supply, the family has turned an open invitation to the town. "People want to see how they're doing," says Hoggan, their father. The twins are treated with a mixture of curiosity and awe, and, in some quarters, with revulsion and disgust. No one is sure what to expect: will they be 40 people or 100, wonder Laura McKay, Simms' eldest, child-petty planner, and family outreach. Gradually, though, the twins have become less an attraction, more a part of town life. "We can actually go out and get our shopping done," says Simms, "and it doesn't take us an hour to get through the store."

Certainly the twins don't ladder a mountain at home. The house, a sprawling rental house overlooking Vernon's lake-green hills, is ruled

by Krista and baby Diego McKay, the family philosopher and chauffeur. There are the twins' older siblings, Rosa, 6, and Christopher, 4, and their sister, six-month-old Shylen. Simms's and Hoggan's latest, and final, adds close to their family, they say. Two of Simms' younger siblings live at home and Hoggan, 34, her partner, is a constant nurse although he lives with his parents. On top of this, Lamm raises the three children, ages two to 11, other eldest son. In all there is a revolving cast of 15 at the moment—a family bound together in so many ways.

After a series of health scares, the twins have made steady progress in recent months, though the process of crawling, let alone walking, eludes them. They rotate around on their backs, or sides, pushing out with their legs and arms. The Sunny Hill Health Centre for Children in Vancouver recently built them a glider that allows them to stand upright, their bodies played apart by two crutches. These modifications are slowly expanding, though they're limited to the narrow of family use in here, as well as the universal "no" all children must learn in the world. They weigh a combined 56 lb. "Tatiana," the "engine," as her mother calls her, is the smaller of the two. Her heart and kidneys do most of the work, and maintaining her weight is a struggle.

The two are an intriguing mix of similarities and differences. They both share a significant bridge of tissue and a tangle of blood vessels. An attempt at separation, except in the most dire of circumstances, is unachievable. The very notion weighs heavy on their mother. She describes a story in *The Girls* about another set of twins, conjoined at the chest. They share a heart, and, when they begin to fall before their second birthday, their anguished mother lets surgeons sever the weaker girl to give the other a chance at life. The surgery seems a success, but when the girl comes out of the anesthesia and realizes her sister has been amputated, she closes her eyes and dies, too. As Simms recounts the tale, her eyes get her sister to bed, she describes into tears.

Krista and Tatiana's connection has an implied depth far beyond the physical link of bone and blood and tissue. Since they find indifferent doctors, one girl will often come to the looking for both, says Simms. "Or you nudge one and the other one will cover gently laugh," she adds. "It's awesome, and yet so weird at the same time."

The answer, Krista went into convulsions for six terrifying hours. A battery of tests revealed nothing abnormal, and doctors

seems mystified. They're not even sure which child was actually sick. Tatiana threw up at Krista's convulsions started. Later, however, Krista played while her sister's seizure continued. "Their brains are so interwoven," says Lamm, "it could have come from Tatiana's side and Krista got the effects of it." Krista seems to learn more quickly, even more so, her mother believes, since the sisters. "Tatiana is the more vocal. Krista is demanding. Tatiana is more laid back. They fight whenever, sometimes biting or scratching."

For now, from a logistical point of view, they are treated in their love of *The Big Comfy Couch*, a children's television show.

Ask Simms if the girls realize they are different from other children and she pauses. "I don't think so," she says, though she knows that day is coming. "At this point, they're just little girls trying to live like other girls," Simms says, also recalling to Rosa and Christopher that about the house, "they'll kind of look at you. 'Why can't I do that?'" Still, the household of older children is good at including them in their play. "We want them to feel as normal as possible," Simms says, "because they are normal in every sense of the word, except that they're stuck to somebody else."

Not everyone agrees. Doctors, editors and the public have all weighed in. Among the most critical is Canadian physician Dr. Ken Walker, who writes under the pen name Dr. Gelfand-Jones. Last year, in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, he told Simms made a "monumental error" in not aborting the twins. He and the twins was a "coast experiment and will cost taxpayers millions of dollars in medical and social costs." "Dysnomia were denied in subsequent letters to the journal. One called Walker's opinion "refreshing." Others were outraged. Simms doctors have forced an abortion, asked a doctor from Germany. It cost the government for treatment. "Who is qualified to comment on the quality of their life?" he asked. Simms, curled up on the couch, cooed with her dad, but no amount in uncollected second opinions. "I believe in what I believe in," she says flatly. "Everybody else can just live my life."

The opening sentences of *The Girls* connect with Rose's wherewithal and never wavers. "Never a private talk. Or a walk. I've never climbed a tree or faked into a crowd." This, too, is Krista's and Tatiana's fate, God willing, their mother knows. It is not of Simms' power to change such lameness. It is not clear the changes they in such. The differ-



AT THE PLAYGROUND with mom Patricia Simms, with dad Brendan Hoggan (middle), snack time with grandmother Louise McKay

ences are what they are, she says, and what they were meant to be. All she can offer her girls is the greatest gift she has, and hope one day Krista and Tatiana can look back and know that it is enough. "So many things I've never done," says Rose, in Lori Lamm's words, "make believe books, 'burial, how I've been loved.'"

THE BACK PAGES

film

A strangely true tale

PG

stage

Means for music people

PG

help

When men's a candidate

PG

bazaar

The perfect pot?

PG

taste

Gourmet food goes wild

PG

feschuk

Intergalactic drunk dialing

PG

tv

The Pew Research Center, the respected U.S. polling firm, produced a poll in 2004 that said 21 per cent of Americans between the ages of 18 and 21 were getting their political

information from comedy shows like *The Daily Show*. With Jen Stewart and, back when Tina Fey was a regular cast member, *Saturday Night Live*. But this time around, it turns out that late-night comedy isn't out to teach us about politics, it depends on us to know about politics. A Pew survey released this year showed that regular viewers of *The Daily Show* and its spinoff, *The Colbert Report*, tend to be more politically knowledgeable and aware than average. Asked to identify political figures like Condoleezza Rice and Gordon Brown, regular *Daily Show* viewers did better than people who watch *NBC News*, *Larry King Live*, or even *KSPN*. Meanwhile, *Saturday Night Live*, whose political comedy used to be limited to jokes about the way George W. Bush moved his hands while he talked, has become part of the world political conversation, especially but not only in the appearances of Tina Fey (now a guest star) as vice-presidential candidate Sarah Palin, and sketches about other topics that only political junkies used to care about. TV comedy can no longer be satisfied with gross jokes about John McCain's age (though there are still plenty of those). The writers have found themselves forced to adapt to a viewership that actually knows and cares about who Nancy Pelosi and Ben Bernanke are. Well, maybe not care.

The traditional political joke was renewed up by a 1994 episode of *The Simpsons* in which an electronically generated disc jockey was programmed to say "Well, here those clown in Congress are at it again." Political comedy, when delivered to a mainstream audience, needed to be as bland as possible, because

TV and radio executives didn't want to risk offending people or, worse, referring to things they didn't know about. (A recent DVD collection of the '90s show *The Southwesterners* on Comedy Now is mostly devoted to episodes that were cut or censored by CBS for actually making war and election jokes that weren't generic.) And so for the most part, polemic and political issues were reduced

even to devoted newsmen like news anchor about. Two of the SNL regulars played Herl and Martin Sandler, the former owners of a savings and loan who sold out to the ill-fated Wachovia bank in 2006; the sketch portrayed them as culprits in the mortgage meltdown and included a caption identifying them as "People who should be shot" (NBC later removed this caption at the urging of nervous buyers.) The reference was so obscure that Lorne Michaels claimed he had no idea that his writers were making fun of real people. "I, as a state of complete ignorance, thought they were characters in the piece," he told the *Los Angeles Times*. "I did not know they were real, up until somebody called me about it on Monday."

It's not only SNL that is getting into specific issues and taking on specific targets; it's not even restricted to sketch comedy. Tina Fey's 2008 *Rock*, which swept the Emmys last month, has done more of the most openly political material of any sitcom, including an episode bashing NBC's prime-time comedy, *Conan O'Brien*, for its hypocritical attempts to make money by jumping on the creative-maintenance bandwagon. When the title character of *My Name Is Earl* was to jail, his arrest number was the same as Senator Lieberman, a joke that was intended only for people who'd followed the Valerie Plame case closely. And the shows that Mike started in the trend, *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report*, are making more and more jokes that are

Laughing on the inside

With today's crop of television shows, you have to know politics to get the jokes BY JAIME J. WEINMAN



TINA FEY, on *Saturday Night Live* with Amy Poehler, nailed Sarah Palin, but other SNL sketches are about things only political junkies could care about

to the simplest things. Jean Chrétien told Tony Danza, Gerald Ford fell down.

But today, these shows are operating on the assumption that their audiences are following politics so closely as they do sports or celebrities. In the same episode that featured a memorable parody of the Sarah Palin-Joe Biden vice-presidential debate, SNL did a sketch about the Wall Street bailout that was in some ways even better, and nothing like the normal SNL political skit instead of reducing the issue to its simplest terms, the sketch focused on specific policy details that

incomprehensible to anyone who isn't reading blogs every day. When the stock market melted last Monday, Colbert said: "Henry Paulson's plan to change his plan to whatever the European was planning a working." It's a quick joke, but one that assumes that the audience knows who the U.S. treasury secretary is, that he was in charge of a bailout plan, and that he had recently endorsed an economic plan originally proposed by European countries. Serious issues and shows about politics have mostly disappeared, but get away about the most depressing and intense polit-

DAVID J. PHILLIPS/PHOTOGRAPH BY JASON FRIEDMAN; PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY MIKE GILBERT

al means, and you'll be an international hero.

What happened to comedy the great, safe tradition of jokes about Bill Clinton's sex life or Ross Perot's nose? Well, for one thing, YouTube. Any interview, sound bite or political event will be on YouTube in a matter of minutes, whether it's Sarah Palin's Katie Couric interview or Barack Obama's epic confrontation with Joe the Plumber. Whereas comedy entertainers used to get most of their political joke ideas from the morning headlines, they now have access to stories that the news papers might have been slow to pick up on—and if a story gets a huge number of YouTube hits, the writers instantly know that it's worth going to the public.

"When comedy writers surfed the Net a lot, so they'll be exposed to that," says Mark Farrell, executive producer of the CBS's long-running

Long gone is the safe tradition of jokes about Bill Clinton's sex life



JOE STEWART and Stephen Colbert, who Mark started the trend, are once again on stage for Joe's Radio, as is David Letterman, pictured at left. Guest: John McCain



political satire show *This Hour Has 12 Minutes*. "I'm not saying they're afraid of everybody, but they're afraid of just regular folks when it comes to going to YouTube." What's more, YouTube allows political comedy sketches to become part of the conversation through Saturday Night Live's clips, talk-shows like *Today*, part of what made the Palin and Wolf Street debates as popular as they were frequently viewed on YouTube, where comments threads turned into arguments about the political issues involved, and made the sketches a real part of the online political conversation.

Blips have also played a part in shaping the jokes we hear on TV, steering hosts and writers to interesting topics or highlighting issues that might not normally turn up on a comedy show. Stephen Colbert's show frequently quotes blogs from the right and the left after the second McCain Obama debate, he quoted two conservative bloggers who were upset with McCain for not talking about Obama's association with "his radical Will



ACCORDING TO TV... JOE THE PLUMBER

"Beth Barack Obama and John McCain were talking about this guy [Joe the plumber]. Here's what's said last month, he was an investment banker. His name isn't Joe, he's not a licensed plumber, and he owes back taxes. Sounds like he has the best plan for times, don't you think?"—Joy Leno
"What the devil, he was crushed by the election. He's taking the wine on Dick Cheney."—David Letterman

who still does jokes about congressional reactions and Joe Biden's hair plugs.

But at least generic humor has the traditional advantage of being accessible to everyone. The danger with more specific jokes is that they could alienate the people in the audience who don't get the reference—or, in the case of the SNL and satirical sketch, maybe even call down the wrath of lawyers. Farrell says that he and the writers at *This Hour* sometimes need to explain an

obscure political joke for the benefit of people who aren't surfing the Net every day. When they did a sketch about the controversy over CBS's columnist Heather Maltzke and her husband of Sarah Palin, he says, they worried it was a full explanation of what the controversy was. "Arguably it could have worked without the long set up, but I thought people are going to be so worried out if they don't know who Heather Maltzke is," he adds, however, that with obscure jokes, it doesn't necessarily matter if some people in the audience don't get it. "We're not going to open with it, but we might put it in because those who get it will really like it. It's better in general when we assume the audience knows more."

The other downside of all this political content is that shows are constantly covering the same material every night, sometimes Colbert will do the exact same stories (and show the same clips) as Stewart, while only on CBS, Letterman is making similar jokes at the same time. Farrell notes that the glut of political comedy can be heard on a weekly show like *This Week*, which opens on Monday but doesn't air until Tuesday evening—after other shows have covered anything that happened early in the week. "It happens on a Tuesday, it's kind of dead to us." With every show doing the same Joe the Plumber, Murray Pawlson and Bill G. 10 jokes, these obscure subjects might eventually become as tired as the old generic jokes they replaced. But when that happens, late-night comedians can go right back to making jokes about John McCain's age. And Joy Leno will be proved right once again. ■

THE GIFT THAT OPENS ALL YEAR LONG



PHOTO

GIVE THE GIFT OF MACLEAN'S AT WWW.MACLEANS.CA/GIFT

MACLEAN'S
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL.

ROGERS



PART OF RECOVERY is grieving the mother you never had. 'Or until you learn to stand yourself against,' says the author of a new book.

When your mother's a narcissist

Recovery, says this psychotherapist, is not about changing mom: that's a lost cause

BY JULIA MCINNES • "If I called my mother and told her I was feeling fat, she'd go, 'Oh my God, talk about feeling fat.'" recalls 44-year-old Chelsea, a Toronto artist and single mother of a teenage son. Chelsea says it's pointless trying to lose a heart-in-heart with her self-absorbed mother. "She can't hear you. With a narcissistic parent, everything is about them. If I said I'm on a diet, she'd say 'I'm on a diet,' then groan and go about how fat she is. She'll tell you how she's slandering sugar almost, but not hear anything I was saying."

When psychotherapist Dr. Karyl McBride counsels the daughter of a narcissistic mother, she starts by giving them a questionnaire. Questions No. 1 and No. 2: "When you do care your life intersects with your mother, does she divert the conversation to talk about her self?" "When you discuss your feelings with your mother, does she try to top the feelings with her own?"

Maternal narcissism is a far more widespread, devastating disorder than most people realize, says McBride, who cautions that, too, 50 "narcissoid" people appear to be in the world who are not maternal, or a daughter's feelings of frustration, even harmed.

"It's very rare for a woman to come into therapy and say, 'Well, I'm the daughter of a narcissist.' Usually, they come in with depression or low self-esteem or [are] exhausted from trying to achieve, achieve, achieve," says McBride. "Good girls aren't supposed to hate their mothers so they don't talk about their feelings." Still, after 17 years of specializing in treating daughters of narcissists, McBride easily spots the symptoms: "over-sensitivity, self-consciousness, indecisiveness,

inability to succeed in relationships." In her new self-help book, *Healing the Daughters of Narcissistic Mothers: Will I Ever Be Good Enough?*, McBride stresses that "success is not about changing mom. It's about your own internal work." Chelsea's Toronto therapist wanted her not to confront or accuse her mother of being a narcissist. "I was told she wouldn't get it. No, I've never tried to talk to her about it," McBride agrees. "If mother is a full-blown narcissist, it's not going to do any good to confront her."

Accepting that your mother isn't going to change is the first and most difficult step, she says. She gives the example of her 32-year-old client, Sarah, who told "I always wanted a normal mom. One who doesn't dress like a hooker, who doesn't flirt with my boy-friends, who doesn't compete with me and isn't threatened by me and is proud of my achievements etc. Do I have to give up on all that?" "Yes," says McBride. "Accepting that mom may not have the full capacity for empathy and love is the hardest thing for daughters. They keep going back and forth and wishing for it to be different."

Some daughters try to drag their parents into therapy with them, but "the more truth your mother has to face the disorder, the less likely she is a candidate for successful treatment. This means you can't rely on her and

shouldn't be attempting to," writes McBride. "Since she's not going to change, you may then ask whether or not you should continue to have contact with her." In many situations, says McBride, "daughters have to make the choice to disconnect completely from their mothers." Part two of recovery is grieving and crying over the mother you never had, writes McBride. Find a quiet room and cry until you "can't stand anymore if anyone," she suggests. During the grief process, it may be helpful "if the therapist is a mother or grandmother. The kind of tenderness where the daughter can feel like the therapist is a nurturing mother can be very helpful for this process."

Another part of a daughter's healing is "treating her own narcissistic traits and relating to pain on the legacy to your own children," says McBride. "You definitely inherit narcissistic tendencies," says Chelsea. When her 14-year-old son goes against with her, he says, "Mama, what about me? You don't pay enough attention to me and you never love. You never played with me when I was little. You just took me to the park and you'd read a book and leave me on my own."

"Well, I'm honest with him about it," says Chelsea. "I say, 'I didn't get any attention and I'm really sorry I'm something that I tell him, "Mama says if you love something to tell me that I'm paying attention." I tell him, "It's not you. It's my problem. It's my mothering and I will try harder."'"



BEST IMPROVED: HALLIE BERRY
The star of *Things We Lost in the Fire* says that now that she's 40 years old her love life has gotten much better. Berry says that by taking control in the bedroom she's been able to order up her own special brand of fireworks. "We learned my tricks," she says. "I know what I like. I do not wait around. I initiate. You know that shift they say about a woman being responsible for her own orgasm? That's all true."



THEY'RE NOT the cockroaches that scurry all over the place. They just sort of walk along. That reduces the 'silly' factor.

The perfect low maintenance pet

They may not be able to catch mice or play fetch, but stick insects can do amazing tricks

BY JULIA MCINNES • It doesn't catch a thing as the perfect pet? A multicolored grasshopper at the University of Alberta, thanks to John Locke's top pick doesn't catch mice or fetch a ball but it does other cool stuff, according to his website Stick Insects: The Perfect Pet. Coined a 1970s experiment, Locke writes that "Franklin-sticks" can be "disgraced and upon replacement of the head, the eyes and gut will grow again; their organs, and ripen the head to the body."

"They're just so impressive," Locke said from his computer office where he's busy fielding questions from inquisitive gardeners, mostly in the U.K. and the southern U.S. People find stick insects camouflaged in trees and leaves, and send pictures, asking, "Will it hurt me and does it have a stinger?"

The Indian stick insect at Locke's specialty store, unlike others, it doesn't climb, spits acrid liquids and can apparently hold its breath. One he acquired once as low maintenance encouragement for his children about a decade ago. "They're beguiling because in some cases you change their food once or twice a week. They're not like cockroaches that scurry all over the place. They just sort of walk along and that reduces the 'silly' factor."

"Yes," you can keep these creatures and you have to explain sexual reproduction to your children," he laughs. Female stick insects lay fertilized eggs in a process known as parthogenesis. In 10 years, Locke's never seen a male stick insect. "30s, no males required," he confirms. "You've got one, then you've got a hundred, then you've got a thousand. You have to cull the herd."

Population explosion is preposterous pest. Cooker Taylor didn't count on when she answered an Internet ad four years ago

and came away with "a couple" of the bugs she read about in *Stick Insects, Rocky, Sticky, Stick!* "The day you tell them heybug!" she said. "How do you tell them hey? Put a white collar on each of them."

On a sunny afternoon outside Victoria, Cooke set her antennae on a portable life, the lid, and drop her hand down to a lady blackberry branch. "See," she says, the leaves and blows on the leaves like she's a gust of wind. "She's dancing. Where to hold one?"

Lately, Cooke's overnight dog-sitting service is in such high demand she's had to put her bugs in the care of her seven-year-old nephew. "But he's not paying attention—not climbing the cage or rolling the ball, she says. So she started adding these online, 'Larvae, I found her.' Not just to anyone, though. She's heard some parents are invasive and could 'take over the country.' One people I like to keep one. I say 'When kind of housing are you going to use?' 'When a lady called saying she planned to keep them in her garden, Cooke thought to herself, 'You're not getting any, because you obviously don't know anything.'"

"Oh, there's a lady who's right there," Cooke says, pointing at a bug that looks like she's been thrown through the window of the mesh lid. She puts the lid down on the table.

In the U.K., bug enthusiast Derek Pratton moderates *Stickz*, the largest of several

stick insect fan sites. But are such passions are stick collectors, Locke says he wouldn't be surprised if they had "willing to do them the dog show." "There are plenty of women and men," writes Pratton, citing London's Jungle Nymphs who list owners the hermit stick insect.

In an email before agreeing to talk, Pratton writes, "I think on Stickz we're always that an enormous in stick insects is sometimes considered a little nerdy. I would submit any article about it doesn't portray it as TOO weird or as social media." On the phone, he agrees. "I don't know. Maybe we are weird. Maybe we are social media a little bit."

This week on Stickz, a member writes that he's "very interested in the photograph of a two-headed stick insect." It begs the question whether twins occur in the insect world? He goes on to share another oddity: "Many years ago my favourite female lady left me during a holiday. After her first that she'd married with a man named John on her head? I wonder if any other group members have seen the same photo?"

Meanwhile back in Victoria, just across when Cooke notices the lady is missing. She checks her bag, then for a few dreadful moments stares helplessly down at the grass around the table. There. There it is. It's climbing the outside of the screen. "Oh, you little f---," she says. She matches it with her finger up over the edge. "Go back to your cage." She slaps the lid down. ■



WHAT THEY GOT FOR IT—TITANIC MEMORabilia
Hilary Dean was two months old when she was orphaned by the *Titanic*. Dean with her family on the ill-fated *Titanic* shipwreck. Now 98, Dean is auctioning off items related to the disaster. Including a suitcase of clothes given her as a relief item when she, her mother and brother arrived in New York after the ordeal. Dean is the only surviving survivor of the accident and must raise money to pay for nursing fees. She hopes to scrape together \$6,000.



'FOOD WITHOUT FARMING' is entirely regional. Depending on your locale, you can find hundreds of unnamed delicacies.

One-stop shopping—in the woods

Pawpaw fruit, sea asparagus, balsam jelly: Canadian chefs are crazy for 'wildcuisine'

BY PAMELA OSTERWEY • It's a cornucopia of amazing goods right under our noses—and often under our noses. Wild foods have always been there, naturally, but most have gone unnoticed. Lately, a movement of foodies to look eastern is embracing native edibles that are as exotic as any import, and raising them as gourmet fare. As an offshoot of the eat-local dogma, and beyond the Canadian culinary chieftains of wild blackberries, wild salmon, and maple syrup, there are hundreds of unnamed foods gaining popularity.

"Wild is big," declares chef Pauline Bergeron of Auberge du Parc in Toronto. "As a chef, you want to bring outside the box, to find something different and exciting." He shines off a long list of ingredients he's worked into his menu, from wild rose jelly—"it comes with scallops or with white fish, such as halibut"—to sea urchin, doing oysters, wild mushrooms, elderberry syrup, pickled fiddleneck and more. He's particularly pleased with one Canadian answer to locavore: "A little bit of plantain and a few granulars with a vinegar-style wild cranberries, garnished with trifolium dried jelly and pickled sprouts, and paired with champagne chive of sprouts here." Basically when chive come in, it's the showstopper.

Jonathan Forbes of Porben Wild Foods, based near Carmichael, Ont., supplies dozens of chefs, including Bergeron, with a range of cultivated products from across the country. He started his company 10 years ago and has seen the interest increase dramatically in the last few. "I think people are more concerned about knowing where their food came from." Working with 30 to 40 designers each year, he sources oysters, fish, vegetables and fruits—from the rare (sweet chestnut) to the ubiquitous (wild highbush cranberry).

ried. "We can use over 100 different ones," he says of a good year.

"Food without farming" is entirely regional, based wherever conditions allow it to thrive. Depending on your locale, you can find catfish, bream, darters, burbot, jellies, chives, sea urchins, sea asparagus, Labrador tea, the pawpaw fruit, black walnuts, edible flowers and herb sprays. And that's for starters.

Since "wildcuisine" (as opposed to agraculture) is not a government-regulated sector, local knowledge and transparency are especially important to avoid toxic mistakes. There's a saying about wild mushrooms, some of which are poisonous: "They are all edible—some." "You have to have relationships with the people who are doing the harvesting," says Forbes, who often meets his suppliers in person. "It's not meant to be community-based. There are people who take a stewardship role with the land."

Lac Savary's Dabbler has local themselves in Ontario, a region in Quebec particularly rich in food culture. Chef Régis Hervé garnishes his salads with milkweed pods, and his omelette with jellies, preserves, blackberries, knowledge, and chives, and says his menu is inspired in a multitude of wild, regional foods. "There's an education that is needed, but people want to taste, to know these ingredients."



TODAY'S SPECIAL... 'WOPPER' PIZZA

A British pizza chain has introduced a gourmet pie that comes with oysters, anchovy relish and right-broil lops atop a tomato and mozzarella base. Called the "Wopper," it sells for about \$38. "Most people see pizza as a quick meal," says chef Sam Mendi. "But this is something a little more refined. You must take time over the legs, not shove the whole across into your mouth." Next on his wish list? For pizza toppings are oysters.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMMANUEL MANDON

Hi, aliens? I've got a few—hic—things to say to you.



SCOTT PESCHKE

For almost a half-century now, transhumanism has been a noble quest to probe the deeper reaches of space, make contact with alien life forms and apparently annoy and confuse the hell out of them.

The heyday of earth's efforts to bafflingly communicate its presence was the 1970s. Early that decade, the commish Project 10 and 11 were *find-wild* gold-plated that featured astronomically accurate readings of a male and female human. The stars, smiling and perfect, was waving in a friendly manner. I state this only to support any prediction that when the case of *Alfred and Mabelly* (DFO) is finally heard by the Intergalactic Supreme Court, the ruling will be that we pretty much asked for it all this time.

The point of contact occurred in 1974, when the *Arecibo* radio telescope was used to broadcast a signal that displayed human and figure carefully made from gold, shiny plastic. The message was clear, clever, and, in essence, and stand in awe of a civilization that stands on the very edge of inventing things.

Three years later, *Yogurt 1* and *I* were dispatched into space. Inside each probe a golden record about. That's right, one full with golden LPs. For the way being that any alien race worth contacting would be able to supply its own translatable and boring. Further that year, these probes finally became the fourth and fifth human attempts to visit the solar system, after Pioneer 10, Pioneer 11 and *Voyager*, which had by then been desperately flailing gay thoughts. (They caught up.)

It was shortly after the *Voyager* launches that the people of earth realized they might be coming on a little strong. Humanity was acting like a desperate guy at a law call—sending out signals in every direction. Which, we took a planetary hiccup.

But suddenly things are worse than ever in the age of the Internet, the ability to unbarrier our civilization is also open has been demystified. All it takes to beam a message into space these days is a computer, a credit card and the belief that because no one on earth cares what you think, then the message must matter.

Just this month, *Bele*, once, a social networking site popular among teenagers, arranged to have about 100 images and text messages transmitted into deep space. The signal was sent at a planet known as

girt a close instant message along with a Certificate of Broadcast, a Pioneer Chart and a picture of the website's owner sitting around on a bed covered with the money of alien like you.

What's unique about Endless Eternity is that it also claims to be able to deliver messages beyond the grave. In fact, the website features a picture of a sad little boy and the words, "When you never had a chance to say 'goodbye'." Okay. When the *Bele* message arrives to lay waste to planet earth, here's hoping they have the biggest, curliest bananas



SentForever.com insists there's no event too insignificant to announce to the universe

Gliese 581C, which was selected because scientists believe it's capable of supporting life, though probably not the kind that comes about your favorite breed, dude.

For a more personal experience, there's SentForever—a website that insists there's no event too insignificant to announce to the universe. Any go-go-ing material? Is it your birthday? Did you remember to put out the garbage? Don't worry about it. For just \$20, SentForever will ensure "your message" will travel through space forever. "Why limit your influence to your immediate family when you could be being an extra star dust?"

(Interestingly, the SentForever homepage features photos of a bride and groom, a little baby and an elderly couple. These are three other ad-supported content elements of the homepage experience as of a recent message to avoid alien destruction the order in which we desire.)

For those who want to lend a more personal touch, there's Endless Eternity—an Internet company that transmits voice messages into the depths of space. For \$15, you

probe for the people at Endless Eternity.

If a one-minute voice message to your deceased goldfish is just not going to cut it, relax. *Big in Space* is the first entry to allow everyday bloggers to reflect their featured, self-absorbed musings upon distant star worlds. Thanks to *Big in Space*'s access to a "powerful deep space transmission dish," it is now entirely possible that an alien civilization's first making of earth's existence will come in the form of a *subliminal* message. 6,000-word rhapsody about the texture of his baby's poop.

Amazingly, there is no risk of misinterpreting the content of these messages, meaning human existence is now threatened not only by nuclear war and global warming but by the astronomical equivalent of death dialing. I've got a few things to go off my back—chat about your space hours.

Please please the universe. Time to take off our pants and wave, even. ■

ON THIS WEB: To read Peschke on the famous wild life blog, www.madison.ca/teschke

LESLIE WILFRED BADDER

1934-2008

He loved the outdoors, playing country music with his twin brother Jimmy, and his Pomeranians

Leslie Wilfred Badder was born in Winnipeg on Feb. 25, 1934, shortly after his twin brother Jimmy. He was the youngest of nine children for Charles Frank Badder and his wife, Phoebe, who had several farm near the rural town of Woodridge, located about 125 km northwest of the city. When the boys were toddlers, stomach cancer claimed Charles's life, and Phoebe moved the family into town, where she struggled to make ends meet on just \$44 a month. "It didn't stretch far," says Leslie's sister Betty, recalling how they would swap food stamps with neighbours so that "we never did go hungry." But Phoebe ran a tight ship, insisting the children wear bows for supper by 5 p.m. and chastising them whenever they were careless about their safety. When she learned one side lesion Leslie had tried smoking, she "gave him hell," says Betty.

Though all the Badder children got along, Leslie and Jimmy were inseparable. Leslie "loved his outdoors," says Betty, and would spend hours with Jimmy in the bush, trapping small animals and fishing. The twins were staying with their older sister Thelma in 1952 when a local man broke into their mother's house one day before dawn. He shot and killed Phoebe before taking his own life. "They took it hard," says Betty of the boys. But somehow, Leslie retained a sense of humour and goodwill toward others. "If you ever needed a hand, he was right there," says friend Lloyd Pickman. The twins learned to play guitar and harmonica by ear, and the traditional country songs became a fixture at family gatherings.

By the time their mother died, Leslie and Jimmy were working for Thelma's husband in the bush. Once, when they came upon a den of wolves, Leslie became so excited about catching in the pelt that his rifle went off accidentally, killing his own and giving his forehead. "He always said, 'My big nose saved my life,'" recalls Jimmy's son Lance. Some after, the pair found work as truck drivers in Winnipeg. It was there that Leslie met Marge Stoen, who lived across the alley from where he was staying. They married in 1958.

Tracking talent Leslie well. Over the years he amassed a stable of loyal friends, and if work permitted, would join his brother on the road. Seventy-hour workweeks were bookended with fishing, hunting and weekly fiddle impromptus, to which Lloyd regularly lent his

fiddle. After his marriage to Marge ended in the early 1960s, Leslie went on a blind date in Woodridge with Mahina Michel. The meeting sparked a decade-long courtship. She also had an ear for music, and would write down lyrics and accompany him on the spoons. The joke, says Leslie, was that "she wouldn't carry him drunk, and he wouldn't marry her sober." When Mal finally agreed, they exchanged vows right away, says Betty, "so she wouldn't say no."

By the 1980s both brothers were back in their hometown, and their music-filled local dance halls and bars. Like Leslie, Mal loved dogs, and the Pomeranians they found for a time became the children's furture. "She called him 'M' and he called her 'M'," says Leslie. Leslie recalled his passion for the outdoors in his nephew's sons with countless fishing and hunting trips, and four-wheel rides in the bush. "He was like a second grandfather," says Randy, who inherited his great-uncle's ability to wait for a dog on the end of his fishing line. Fishing became a particularly welcome distraction after 1993, when Jimmy died of lung cancer. Leslie missed his brother dearly, and "talked about him a lot," says friend Colleen Ross.

Leslie's own battle with prostate cancer started in 2003, but throughout his treatment, says Colleen, "he never dwelled on it." Several years later, Mal got sick too. Here was liver cancer, and by the time doctors found it, it was too late. Leslie visited her in hospital daily. Before she died in 2007, they had adopted two Pomeranians. And after Mal passed, Leslie was mostly without Snoopy, who was the younger of the pair and "attached to him right away," says Lance of the small golden-haired dog. "She gave him extra life."

On Wednesday, Oct. 8, Leslie was in Winnipeg for his final stomach checkup. To his delight, the cancer was gone; his doctor gave him a clean bill of health and another five years. The next morning, he was leaving with a good friend. They were in a parking lot, where he had been growing angry at a bridge they used. In the darkness, Leslie's friend mistook him for an animal, and shot him. He succumbed to his injuries on route to hospital. On Saturday, Leslie was buried in Woodridge, next to Jimmy. The headline that precedes over the double plot is adorned with a fishing boat and two guitars. It reads, "Tales Kept" Leslie Badder was 74.

BY RACHEL HENDERSON



SET YOUR WISH LISTS FREE.

Live wirelessly. Print wirelessly.

For more ideas on how you can create holiday print projects, please visit hp.ca/creative

HP Photosmart C6300 All-in-One Inkjet/Wireless

WHAT DO YOU HAVE USING? hp

Careful. It's sharp.



THE NEW 2009 FORD EDGE.

Know what you're getting into. A well-tuned machine that sips fuel, wields 265 hp, is available from \$34K and sports head-turning good looks.



34MPG - 8.4L/100KM HWY
22MPG - 12.6L/100KM CITY

Consider yourself warned.



powered by you

Fuel Consumption ratings are based on Transport Canada approved test methods, and relate to the Edge FWD. Actual fuel consumption may vary based on road conditions, vehicle loading and driving habits.

ford.ca